SOME EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD FROM EASTERN INDIA

D C SIRCAR

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The present volume contains some inscriptions, mostly of the late medieval times, edited by "the greatest living epigraphist in India". It is expected to serve the purpose of a kind of Supplement to the same author's *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. II (*from the 6th to the 18th Century A.D.*) which is in the press. Some of the documents (e.g. the inscriptions of Govindamāṇikya of Tripurā) will show how the nature of land grants remained essentially the same from the early centuries of the Christian era down to modern times.

Several of the inscriptions are of exceptional importance. Thus the Nīlācal plates of Mādhava use a large number of abbreviations, many of which have not yet been traced in any other record while Vijayamāṇikya's grant of Śaka 1410 proves the defective nature of the Tripurā chronicles which do not know him at all. The epigraphic records in the volume are interesting either for the study of regional or local history (e.g. the Antichak and Pāyā inscriptions) or of language and palaeography, particularly of the development of the East Indian alphabets (e.g. the Oriya part of the Veligalani grant).

A number of the epigraphs show how they often baffled attempts at decipherment (e.g. Dutyār Bāḍī and Kabilāspur inscriptions) and led to the publication of wrong ideas about them (e.g. Bihārsharif inscription of Śaka 1317 and Vikrama 1452).

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SOME EPIGRAPHICAL RECORDS
OF THE
MEDIEVAL PERIOD FROM EASTERN INDIA

Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume embodies the author's study of a number of East Indian epigraphs of the medieval period--eleven from Tripura, nine from Bihar, eight from West Bengal, five from Orissa, and one each from Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. A group of four inscriptions from the Gayā temples have been included in an Appendix because of their peculiar nature, even though they do not belong to the local rulers. Only a few of the numerous Orissan records studied by the author have been selected for the volume.

The records have been brought together for the purpose of emphasising their importance to the students of history, epigraphy, palaeography and linguistics. Many of them could not be correctly read by previous writers who do not also appear to have attached to them the importance they deserve.

It is generally believed that to read an epigraphic or manuscript record written in late characters is much easier than to decipher an inscription of the ancient and early medieval ages. The author's experience as a student of Indian palaeography, however, is that the decipherment of even a late medieval inscription or manuscript requires as much skill, care and patience as that of a similar document of an earlier date. This point is expected to be clear from the discussion on some of the records dealt with in the volume. It may be observed, in order to emphasise the point, that the author has himself succeeded in improving upon a few of the epigraphical texts while revising them for their re-edition or inclusion in the present volume.

Earlier writers often quoted the texts of inscriptions in late characters without publishing their facsimiles because they were not quite conscious about their palaeographical importance; but this has created some difficulty in studying the Indian alphabets at their late medieval stage before the introduction of the printing press. The author of this work has always realised this difficulty and has published

facsimiles of late records whenever an occasion offered itself. Illustrations of some of the inscriptions forming the subject of this volume will show that the earlier records exhibit, more or less, the common characteristics of the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet, while the later epigraphs reveal regional elements in a more pronounced degree.

A few of the epigraphic studies included in this volume were incorporated in the two lectures which the author delivered in March, 1968, at the Magadh University, then functioning at Gayā. He takes this opportunity to extend his heartiest thanks to the authorities of the said University, particularly to Professor Upendra Thakur, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian and Asian Studies in that institution. Professor Thakur has also placed the author under a deep debt of gratitude by arranging for the publication of the volume.

Thanks must again be extended to Messrs. Abhinav Publications, particularly to Shri Shakti Malik, as well as to Shri Promod Kumar who has prepared the Index of the volume. The author expresses his gratefulness to the Indian Council of Historical Research for the grant of a sum of money that he utilised in the preparation of a few volumes on inscriptions, including the present one, in which Nāgarī transcripts of epigraphical texts were incorporated.

The author's thanks are also due to the authorities of the periodicals in which most of these studies appeared in their original form. Reference to such publications is made in the following lines:

Chapter I.		*Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1967-68, pp. 17ff.
Chapter II.		*Ibid.*, Vol. II, 1968-69, pp. 65ff.
Chapter III,	No. 1.	*Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1972-73, pp. 53ff.
	No. 2.	*Ibid.*, pp. 47ff.
	No. 3.	*Ibid.*, Vol. I, 1967-68, pp. 22ff.
	No. 4.	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, Vol. XXXVII, 1951, Parts 3-4, pp. 10ff.
	No. 5.	*Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. XXX, 1953-1954, pp. 240ff; cf. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXIX, 1953, pp. 395ff.
	No. 6.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114ff.

No. 7. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, S.A. Askari Felicitation Volume, 1968, pp. 334-35.

No. 8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. XXXVI, 1965-1966, pp. 303ff.

Chapter IV, No. 1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, 1953-1954, pp. 17ff.

No. 2. *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1936, pp. 22ff; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 81ff.

No. 3. *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1936, pp. 121-22; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 83-84.

No. 4. *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1936, pp. 125-26.

No. 5. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, 1957, pp. 13ff; cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. XXXIII, 1959-1960, p. 292.

Chapter V, No. 1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73ff.

No. 2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol. XXXIII, 1957, pp. 101ff.

No. 3. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. VIII, 1974-75, pp. 227-30.

No. 4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1970-71, pp. 192ff.

No. 5. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, Vol XXXIII, 1957, pp. 99ff.

No. 6. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, Vol. VIII, 1974-75, pp. 230-32.

Chapter VI, No. 1. *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Calcutta, Vol. III, 1968, pp. 7ff.

No. 2. Not previously published in a periodical.

Appendix, No. 1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi, Vol. XXXIII, 1959-1960, pp. 103ff.

No. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 108ff.

No. 3. *Ibid.*, pp. 110ff.

No. 4. *Ibid.*, pp. 113ff.

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Chapter One

ARUNACHAL PRADESH

Pāyā Tāmreśvarī (Dikkaravāsinī) Temple Inscription of Muktādharmanārāyaṇa, Śaka 1364 (1442 A.D.)

In the year 1958, when I was Government Epigraphist for India, Mrs. Debalā Mitra, then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, with headquarters in Calcutta, kindly sent me inked impressions of a small inscription which had been copied by her in the Tāmreśvarī temple near Pāyā in the Lohit District (the former Lohit Frontier Division) in what was formerly the North-East Frontier Agency, but is now the State of Arunachal Pradesh. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, p. 56 (No. B 389), where it was said that it "records the construction of a wall around the temple by Muktādharmanārāyaṇa and a lady who was possibly his wife." Unfortunately there is a mistake in the above statement as will be seen below.

The inscription is written in five lines in the Bengali-Assamese characters of the fifteenth century A.D. As expected, *ba* has been written by the sign for *va*. The palaeography of the epigraph is interesting. In the first place, the letter *śa* has not been written in the modern Bengali-Assamese fashion so that the older Gauḍīya form was popular in the age and area of the record. It is also interesting to note that the older form is used in the A.S.B. manuscript of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[1] copied in 1435 A.D. which, as will be seen below, is not far removed from the date of the present inscription. Secondly, the letter *ra* is not

1. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 375.

distinguished from *va* (or *ba*), though, in *viracita* in line 4, there may be a small slanting stroke near the lower left limb of the letter. We know that, in East India in the late medieval times, *ra* was sometimes written by the sign for *va* (and *ba*) with the addition of a dot outside the lower left limb or inside the triangle, the latter mark later developing into the cross-bar in the Assamese form of the letter. Thirdly, the form of initial *i* in line 3 of our inscription is important since it stands midway between the form found in early medieval records like the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena (c. 1206-20 A.D.) and the A.S.B. manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* (1289 A.D.) and the modern type noticed in later records like the manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*.[1] Fourthly, the figure *3* in line 5 is not nearer its modern Bengali-Assamese form than its shape in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena, which was issued about two centuries and a quarter before the date of the present inscription.[2]

The epigraph, which is written in Sanskrit prose, is dated in the Śaka year 1364 (1442 A.D.), the month being mentioned as Agrahāyanika, i.e. Mārgaśīrṣa, though the author's intention may have been to indicate the full moon of the month of Agrahāyana or Mārgaśīrṣa.

The inscription records that, through the grace of Śiva's feet, the doubly illustrious Muktādharmanārāyaṇa, who was the son of the *Vṛddha-rājan*, effected the construction of the wall (*prākāra-nibaddha*) of the doubly illustrious Digaravāsinī in bricks, etc., on the date quoted above. In the expression *prākāra nibaddha*, the word *nibaddha* may be used in the sense of *nibandhana*, i.e. construction. *Vṛddha-rājan*, 'the old king', mentioned without disclosing his personal name, as the father of Muktādharmanārāyaṇa, seems to suggest that the prince was administering the State during the old age of his father. Both these rulers are unknown to us, though they may be traced in local tradition. The said persons apparently belonged to the Cutiyā ruling family of the Sadiyā region, which was subdued by the Ahom king Suhuṅgmuṅg or Dihiṅgiā Rājā (1497-1539 A.D.).[3] The Cutiyā rulers claimed descent

1. See *ibid.*, p. 373. The manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana* is no doubt later than the 15th century. We do not agree with R. D. Banerji who considered it 'certainly not later than the 15th century' (*Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 89) and S. N. Chakravarti who says, "the *Kṛṣṇakīrtana* must be placed in the 15th century along with the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*" (*JRASB*, *op. cit.*, p. 367).
2. See Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, Plates facing pp. 140 and 144.
3. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1963, pp. 87ff.

from king Bhīṣmaka (father of Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukmiṇī) who ruled over Vidarbha (located in the Sadiyā region in Assamese tradition) and had his capital at Kuṇḍina (located on the Kundil river at Sadiyā).[1] There is a locality called Bhīṣmakanagara a few miles from the site of the Tāmreśvarī temple. It is difficult to say whether the rulers mentioned in our record had their headquarters there.

The name Digaravāsinī is no doubt the same as or a mistake for that of the goddess Dikkaravāsinī worshipped in the eastern frontier of medieval Assam. The late medieval work entitled *Yoginī Tantra*[2] gives the boundary of Kāmarūpa first as—

Nepālasya Kāñcan-ādriṁ Brahmaputrasya saṅgamam /
Karatoyāṁ samārabhya yāvad=Dikkaravāsinīm //

The four boundaries are given here as—(1) Mt. Kāñcana in Nepāla, (2) the confluence of the Brahmaputra, (3) the Karatoyā, and (4) Dikkaravāsinī (i.e. the temple of the goddess of that name).

The same information is supplied again, by way of elaboration, as follows—

Uttarasyāṁ Kañja-giriḥ Karatoyā tu paścime /
tīrtha-śreṣṭhā Dikṣu-nadī pūrvasyāṁ Girikanyake //
dakṣiṇe Brahmaputrasya Lākṣāyāḥ saṅgam-āvadhiḥ /
Kāmarūpa iti khyātaḥ sarva-śāstreṣu niścitaḥ //

Here we have the following boundaries of the Kāmarūpa country—(1) Mt. Kañja (i.e. Kāñcana) in the north, (2) the Karatoyā in the west, (3) the Dikṣu river in the east, and (4) the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lākṣā in the south.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (80.32ff) also says—

tataḥ pūrve Kāmarūpaṁ pīṭham te jagatāṁ prasūḥ /
jaganmayī Mahāmāyā devī Dikkaravāsinī // . . .
prānte Dikkaravāsinyā sadā vahati Svarṇadī /
Sitagaṅg-āhvayā loke sākṣād=Gaṅgā phala-pradā /
pīṭhe Dikkaravāsinyā dvirūpā ramate Śivā //
Tīkṣṇakānt-āhvayā tv=ekā y=Ogratārā prakīrtitā /

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 42-43.
2. See Paṭala XI; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, XII, p. 68; Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 13, note 1. Since the work mentions the Koc king Viśvasiṁha (1496-1533 A. D.), it could not have been composed before the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

parā Lalitakānt-ākhyā yā śrī-Maṅgalacaṇḍikā //
tasyās=tu satatam rūpam Tīkṣṇakānt-āhvayam nṛpa /
kṛṣṇā lambodarī yā tu sā syād=Ekajaṭā Śivā //

Eeference is made here to Kāmarūpa as the eastern *pīṭha* of the Mother Goddess whose name is given as Dikkaravāsinī. We are told further that the holy stream of Sitagaṅgā flowed by the side of the Dikkaravāsinī [temple] and that the goddess has two forms, viz. (1)Tīkṣṇakāntā-Ugratārā otherwise called Ekajaṭā, and (2) Lalitakāntā-Maṅgalacaṇḍikā. Of these fierce and benevolent forms of the goddess, the former seems to be mentioned as more popular at the place.

Elsewhere the same Purāṇa (18.43 and 51) says—

Kāmarūpe Kāmagirau nyapatad=yoni-maṇḍalam /
tatr=aiva nyapatad=bhūmau pūrvato nābhi-maṇḍalam // . . .
purv-ānte Kāmarūpasya devī Dikkaravāsinī /
tathā Lalitakānt=eti Yoganidrā pragīyāte //

Here we are told that the Kāmagiri (i.e. the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati) was the *yoni-pīṭha* while the Devī's navel fell in the eastern region of Kāmarūpa where the Pīṭhadevī is Lalitakāntā also called Yoganidrā. The benevolent aspect of the goddess is given more importance in this passage.

The copper temple of Tāmreśvarī at Pāyā was one of the great centres of Śakti worship in Assam, with bloody sacrifices including slaughter of human beings. The temple stands in lat. 27.56, long. 96.2[1] about 5 miles from the Tebangkhuṇṭi air-strip on the Sadiyā-Teju route. The nearest halting place is the Pāyā Inspection Bungalow, about 7 miles from the air-strip. Mrs. Mitra's report runs as follows: "The temple, 8 ft. square inside, built of sandstone and granite, is located at the south-east section of a rectangular brick enclosure measuring roughly 208 ft. by 130 ft. Most part of the temple has fallen down and only a few lowermost courses now exist, and those too are buried in the earth . . . The compound wall stands at places to a height of 8 ft. and its breadth is about 4 ft. It is pierced by a stone gateway on the western side." Mrs. Mitra's description seems to suggest that the construction of the said compound wall is recorded in the inscription and that the temple (originally a *catur-āyatana* having four shrines or cells according to Mrs. Mitra) was already in existence when the epigraph was incised.

1. See Survey of India sheets Nos. 92/A and 91/D-4.

Some writers locate the Tāmreśvarī (Dikkaravāsinī) temple at Sadiyā instead of at Pāyā which is at a considerable distance,[1] while others locate Dikkaravāsinī at modern Dikrang near Sadiyā and sometimes the Dikṣu-nadī is identified with the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Śibsāgar.[2] It may be noticed that the *Kālikā Purāṇa* seems to mention the river Dikṣu near the Dikkaravāsinī temple as Sitagaṅgā and to suggest that the Lalitakāntā-Maṅgalacaṇḍikā and Tīkṣṇakāntā-Ugratārā-Ekajaṭā forms of the goddess Dikkaravāsinī were worshipped in the same temple.

TEXT[3]

1 [Śiva]-caraṇa-prasādāta(dāt) Vṛddharāja-tana-
2 ya-śrī-śrīmata[4]-Muktādharmanārāyaṇena
3 śrī-śrīmatī(tyā) Diga(kka)ravāsinyā iṣṭak-ā-
4 di-viracita-prākāra-nibaddhaḥ[5] kṛ-
5 taḥ // Āgrahāyaṇike[6] Śaka 1364 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) [शिव]-चरण-प्रसादात(त्) वृद्धराज-तन- (2) य-श्रीश्रीमत(न्)-मुक्ताधर्मनारायणेन
(3) श्रीश्रीमती(त्या) दिग(क्क)रवासिन्या इष्टका- (4) दि-विरचित-प्राकार(:*) निव(ब)द्धः कृ-
(5) तः ॥ आग्रहायणि(नि)के शक(के) १३६४ (॥*)

1. P.C. Choudhury, *The History of Civilization of the Assamese People*, 1965, p. 420.
2. See *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, *loc. cit.*
3. From impressions and photographs.
4. Read *Śrīman-Muktā*.
5. Better read *nibandhanaṁ kṛtam*, or *prākāraḥ nibaddhaḥ kṛtaḥ*.
6. Read *Āgrahāyanike Śake*. The intended reading may be *Āgrahāyanikyāṁ* or *Āgrahāyanyāṁ*.

Chapter Two

ASSAM

Nīlācal Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava

Professor M. Neog published a copper-plate charter under the title 'The Nīlācala Grant of an Unknown Kāmarūpa King' in the *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Arts, Vol. XVI-XVII, pp. 209-14 and Plate. Unfortunately, the published transcript of the record is inaccurate and its text has not been interpreted satisfactorily. It must be admitted that the text is full of contractions and local words which are often veritable hard nuts to crack.

The inscription, which was recovered from the Nīlācal or Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, is engraved on three plates (19.9 cm. × 13.4 cm.). It is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second plate. Instead of a proper seal, the figure of the god Gaṇeśa is incised on the upper left side of the writing on the first plate. A similar fashion is noticed in many of the charters of such dynasties as the Candellas and Paramāras, though the divinities represented may have been different.[1] The name 'Varadā' is incised in modern characters in the right margin of Plate II-A and probably also in the left margin of Plate I-B. It may be a female name or the first part of a male name, and the person seems to have claimed the ownership of the plates.

The donor of the charter was a king of Kāmārūpa named Mādhava or Mādhavadeva whose name is unfortunately omitted from the passage *śrimad-deva-pādāḥ* in line 4, though he is mentioned by name

1. See, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, Plates facing pp. 122, 126, 127, 156. Cf. also the figure of Gaṇeśa engraved in the upper part of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Narasiṁha (*ibid.*, Plate facing p. 234).

as the donor of the gift land in the passage *śrīman-Mādhavadeva-pādāḥ dattavantasma* in lines 53-54. As regards the identity of the donor, the figure of Gaṇeśa has been taken by Neog to 'indicate some connection with the rulers of the Rāṇī principality which lay west of Gauhati'. "Gaṇeśa probably provided their royal insignia; their family history is also known as *Rājavaṁśāvalī Janma Gaṇeśar.*"[1] As regards the date of the donor of the charter, he says, "The phrase *vāṅgāla-padātīnāṁ bhū-sīmā*, meaning the boundary of the land held by some cantonment of Muslim foot-soldiers, distinctly refers the document to the period of Ahom-Muslim hostilities, the word *Vāṅgāla*, being invariably applied in the Burañjīs (chronicles) in the Assamese and Ahom languages to the Muslims attacking Assam from across Bengal. The first Muhammadan invasion recorded in the Burañjīs took place in 1627. Hajo to the north of the Brahmaputra was the Thānā of Mughal Fauzdārs for quite a few decades from about 1616 A.D. The Muslims, who occupied Gauhati from 1662 A.D., were finally ousted from there in 1682 A.D. There were clashes of the Rāṇī Rājās, who generally supported the Ahoms, with the Muslims before and after this period. The only question here is whether the Rāṇī Rājās called themselves King of Kāmarūpa."[2] From this, it appears that Neog would assign the charter and its donor to the seventeenth century. But this does not appear to be possible since the epigraph should be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date not later than the fifteenth century.

The form of the letter *i* as used in the inscription (line 13) is earlier than that of the letter *i* as found in the Pāyā inscription[3] of 1442 A.D., though the figure 3 exhibits the same form as in that epigraph. Likewise, the letter *ṭa* resembles the earlier of the two forms of the same letter as found in the manuscript of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[4] (1435 A.D.), while *da* is not earlier and *ha* is later than their forms in the said manuscript. The letter *da* resembles the form of the same letter as found in the Pāyā inscription. The letters *ṭha* and *śa* do not exhibit the final forms noticed in the manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*[5] and do

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 209.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
3. See *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 17ff; above, pp. 1 ff.
4. Cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 374, Column VI; cf. p. 375, Column VI. See the late form of *avagraha* in lines 17 and 33.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 374, Column VII; p. 375, Column VII.

not appear to be later than the fifteenth century. Considering the points noticed above, it is difficult to assign the Nīlācal copper-plate inscription to any date outside the fifteenth century A.D.

We shall see below that the land which was the subject of the gift recorded in the charter was situated in the region around the Raṅgiā railway station, so that the territory to the north of the Brahmaputra formed a part of the kingdom of the donor of the charter. The said territory was largely in the possession of the Bhuiñās (Bhaumikas) before the rise of the Koc king Viśvasiṁha about the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century and of his contemporary, the Ahom king Suhuṅgmuṅg or Dihiṅgiā Rājā (1497-1539 A.D.).[1] Owing to insufficient data for the history of Assam during the period in question, it is difficult to identify king Mādhava or Mādhavadeva who probably flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, even though he ruled for a fairly long period of at least about 25 years, because the Nīlācal copper-plate inscription was issued in his 25th regnal year.

The text of the epigraph abounds in contractions of the type noticed in records like the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat plate[2] of Viśva-rūpasena and the Mehār plate[3] of Dāmodara. While dealing with the abbreviations used in those records, we have shown how *vā-ṭī* stands for *vāstu-ṭīkara* (*ṭikkara*) meaning a mound of homestead land[4] and *mu-ṭī* means an unproductive mound not yielding any revenue income at all.[5] It is interesting to note that the contraction *vā-ṭī* occurs many times in the Nīlācal inscription, while *mu-ṭī* appears in it in the form of *muṇḍa-vā-ṭī* or *muṇḍā-vā-ṭī*, i.e., a barren mound (cf. Bengali *muṇḍa*, *muḍā*, 'bare'). In the same connection, we explained *sāṁ-hi* as *sāṁvat-sarika-hiraṇya*, i.e. the annual revenue income in cash.[6] The Nīlācal inscription uses the same abbreviation as *sāṁ-hi* or *sā-hi* or *sa-hi* (*saṁvat-sara-hiraṇya*). In line 55, *sāṁ* seems to stand for *sākalyena*, 'totally'. The abbreviations of the names of land measures like *bhū* and *pu* are easily recognised as *bhūmi* and *puṭaka*, 25 of the former making 1 of the latter. *Brā* for *Brāhmaṇa*, *saṁ* for *sambaddha*, *dvā* for *dvābhyām*, *śā-bhū*

1. See E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, Chapter III (pp. 36ff).
2. Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 201ff.
3. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 51ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

for *śāli-bhūmi*, *li* for *likhana* (document), *pramā* for *pramāṇena* (i.e. 'on the evidence of'), *Kā* for *Kāyastha* (a scribe), *Sūtra* for *Sūtra-dhāra*, etc., also fall in the same category. *Saṁ* for *saṁvatsare*, which is well known, is noticed in line 55. But *la-gu-vṛ* and *pra-vṛ-gaṁ*, each found twice in the present record and understood by us respectively to be *lamba-guvāka-vṛkṣa* (tall fruit-producing arecanut palms) and *prati-vṛkṣa-gaṁḍakāni* (annual income per tree in *gaṇḍās* of cowries), are difficult indeed. We are not quite sure about the meaning of some of the words, e.g., *ti-thā*, *śi-thā* (in *sāṁ-śithā-hi* of which *sāṁ=sāṁvatsarika* and *hi=hiraṇya*), *bhatavaṭa*, etc. In line 7, we have *u* for *upalabdha*.

The word *śrīmat* seems to be used in the sense of 'the king' in *śrīmad-deva-pādāḥ* (line 4) and *śrīmad-ādeśāt* (line 9).[1] Prakritism is noticed in the word *ekaīśati* for *ekaviṁśati* (line 13). The word *cira* (cf. Bengali from Sanskrit *cīrṇa*) has been used in the sense of 'a piece [of land]', while *pokharī-vāḍī* seems to stand for Sanskrit *puṣkariṇī-vāṭikā* (house adorned with a tank); cf. also *cāsa* ('cultivation' meaning 'cultivable or cultivated land'), *kākhaḍi* (probably, 'a side'), etc. In *Gāṅgaeva-tocche-pramā* (*pramāṇena*), Gāṅgaeva is Sanskrit Gaṅgadeva and *tocche* or *to-cche* may be a kind of recommendation or offers a second personal name. The case of *deva* changed to *eva* (cf. also Mahāeva=Mahādeva in line 36) reminds us of Hedieva and Dhadieva in the Maināmatī plate (1220 A.D.) of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva of Paṭṭikerā.[2] In line 37, *Chāuṇa*, which we have taken to be the name of a canal, may be a word of uncertain import.

The contraction *ni* meaning *nibaddha* (registered) or *nirīkṣita* (seen and approved) is found twice at the beginning of line 1. This indicates that the grant was registered or approved by two authorities, one of them being a high officer and the other probably the king himself. It reminds us of the same contraction (i.e., *ni*) at the beginning or end of some copper-plate grants.[3]

The above is followed in line 1 by three endorsements which remind us of the abbreviated endorsements like *mahākṣa-ni*, *mahāsāṁ-ni*, etc., at the end of certain East Indian records.[4] These, however, should have properly been placed at the end of the document. The first of

1. Cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v. *śrī-nī*, *śrī-caraṇa*, *śrī-pāda*, *śrī-hasta*, etc.
2. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 286-87.
3. See, e.g., the Belwa plate of Mahīpāla I (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 1 ff); Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 328.
4. Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-29.

the three endorsements in our epigraph says that the grant was approved (*anumata*) by the *Dharmādhikṛta* (officer of the judicial department placed in charge of religious endowments, gifts, etc.). The next endorsement seems to state that the *Dharmādhikṛta's* approval of the grant was forwarded to the *Peṭakika* or the custodian of the boxes (i.e. record boxes) meaning the record-keeper. The third and last endorsement says that the grant was approved by the *Āyapraviṣṭaka* (officer making entries of items of State income in a register, i.e. the money-receiving officer).

The grant proper then begins with the word *svasti* and introduces the donor of the grant as *Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, who was a *Paramamāheśvara* (devout worshipper of the god Maheśvara or Śiva). The said king is further described as the son of the goddess Kāmākhyā (mentioned honorifically as 'the feet of Kāmākhyā'), as the very Garuḍa to the serpents that are the enemy kings, as the fearless lion (*niḥśaṅka-siṁha*) and as the lord of the Kāmarūpa country. The representation of the king as the son of Kāmākhyā reminds us of the mention of certain medieval kings of Orissa as the sons of Puruṣottama, Maheśvara and Durgā.[1]

More interesting in this section of the charter, however, is the fact that the donor is mentioned here as *śrīmad-deva-pādāḥ* without mentioning his personal name which is given in line 53 as *śrīman-Mādhava-deva-pādāḥ*. This reminds us of the medieval practice of writing the king's name at the top of the document and indicating it at its proper place by a mark only, as in *Mahāsuratrāṇa-śrī-śrī-śrī-śrī*-V-*pālite dharaṇī-maṇḍale* with the name of *śrī-Mahamadaśāha*, with the mark V prefixed to it, at the top in a record of 1730 A.D.[2] It seems that, in our document, the name *Mādhava* was written above the first line in the original document (later copied on the plates) and *śrīman*-V-*deva-pādāḥ* was written in the body, but that, at the time of engraving it on the plates, the personal name as well as the sign at the top and in the text were omitted through confusion. Another interesting fact is that, in the earlier inscriptions of Assam, the goddess Kāmākhyā and her consort are mentioned respectively as Mahāgaurī and Kāmeśvara (worshipped on the Kāmakūṭa hill).[3] In the record under study, the goddess is

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 126-27.
2. See Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 225-26.
3. Cf. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 13, note 1; p. 15, note 2; P.N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Intro., p. 32, note 2; p. 131, note 3; p. 138, text line 49; p. 204.

called Kāmākhyā (line 3); but the god is mentioned in lines 8 and 53 by the old name as Kāmeśvara.

In respect of the grant to be made, the donor is then stated to have passed an order on and sought the approval of the inhabitants of Daluā-grāma in the Pāṇḍarī *maṇḍala* (district). It is interesting to note that the same Pāṇḍarī seems to be mentioned as Paṇḍarī and as a locality of the Maṇḍi *viṣaya* (district) of the Uttarakūla Division (lying to the north of the Brahmaputra) in the Guākuci plate of Indrapāla, which is supposed to be the same as modern Paṇḍurī, the name of the area around the Raṅgiā railway station.[1] It is stated that an area of 100 *puṭakas* of land was granted to Virocana, the chief priest (*Maṭhapati*, called *Mahāmaṭhādhipati* in line 53)[2] of the god Kāmeśvara, on the basis of an application (*patrī*) received by the State from Anantadāśa (better *Anantadāsa*) a *Kā* (i.e. *Kāyastha*, scribe) attached to the Department of Land or Land Revenue (*bhūmi-karaṇa-saṁ*, i.e., *bhūmy-adhikaraṇa-sambaddha*). It appears that this person was responsible for the creation of the rent-free holding recorded in our document and that he should have paid the necessary fees, for the purpose, to the treasury of king Mādhava.[3] The land was granted by the king (*śrīmadbhiḥ*) in the presence of the god Kāmeśvara. It appears that the grant was really made in favour of the god, and his chief priest accepted it on his behalf.[4] It is further stated that the granted area measured 100 *puṭakas* situated, according to a document written on the 8th day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha (probably in the 25th regnal year of Mādhava when the charter was issued), outside the tract belonging to *Avallika* Mādhavaśarmapota and *Āyanibandhika* Sujāyika, according to a letter (*patrī*) from the royal palace (*śrī-mahā-dev-āgārāt*) under the king's orders (*śrīmad-ādeśāt*). The land measure called *puṭaka* is the same as modern *puḍā* which is sometimes regarded as the same as *bīghā*.[5] Later in the record, mention is made of another land measure called *bhūmi*, 25 of which were equal to one *puṭaka*. The word *pota* in the name *Mādhavaśarmapota* stands for Sanskrit *putra*.[6] *Avallika*, which is difficult to explain, reminds us of *Avallika-paṇḍita*-Halāyudha mentioned int he Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat

1. P.N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit* , pp. 130ff.
2. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v.
3. Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114ff.
4. Cf. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 437, text line 14.
5. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v.
6. Cf. *Bhaṭṭaputra*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 322.

plate of Viśvarūpasena.[1] The designation *Āyanibandhika* is similar to *Āyapraviṣṭaka* mentioned in line 1.

Lines 11ff mention a plot of land in the Pāṇḍarī-maṇḍala, which was made the subject of a gift in accordance with the *to-cche* (probably, a kind of recommendation) of the *Maṇḍala-Kā* (*Kāyastha*) or District Scribe named Gāṅgaeva. This land was attached to the area surrounded by an embankment to save it from the floods of the Veñciā, Valajaya, Uṅgī, Pāge, Paramā, Dikā and other streams and lying within the jurisdiction (*sambhogya*) of Daluvā-grāma (Daluā-grāma). It is said that the plot included some land from outside, i.e. land belonging to some neighbouring village. The boundaries of this plot measuring 2100 *bhūmis* (i.e. 84 *puṭakas*) were as follows: in the east—the boundary of the lands of the Vāṅgāla foot-soldiers; in the south—the dried up bed of the Dimoyi-nadī to the north of Pāñcaulakoñcī-grāma. Another boundary of the plot is said to have been the southern side (*kākhaḍi*) of a stream (*jola*) of the dried up Dimoyi-nadī flowing about the boundary (*sīmā-diśi*). Within the boundaries, were included seven pieces (*cira*) of land in the western part of Vāṭili lying to the west of a plot of pasture land belonging to Praguṇa, to the west of the land described above. Of this land, in its eastern part, there was the semi-developed (*ardha-vardhita*) locality called the Koñcī of the name of Daluā (i.e. Daluākoñcī) in which there were the following mounds (*vā-ṭī=vāstu-ṭīkara*)—one each of the son of Karṇadhāra, Pātra's son, Dapo, Sujo, Tavāḍiyāno, Bhāṭa's son, Naupali, Devū, Madeśaragaḍa, Vaḍadā, Ghaḍāyāgī, Kāla-Cakrapāṇi, Ranā, Picchalī's son, Vimala and Trā (Śrī)bhīma—in all 15 *vā-ṭīs* or mounds. Some of the above names appear to be geographical though the others are personal. There were also 5 *muṇḍā-vā-ṭīs* (barren mounds). Counting the two groups, there were 15 + 5 = 20 *vā ṭīs* covering 8 *vāstu-bhūmi-puṭakas* (line 23).

As to trees on this area of land, there were 32 mature arecanut palms, for each of which the annual income was calculated at 10 Gaṇḍakas; on this basis, the annual revenue income was counted as 1 [Kārṣāpaṇa or Purāṇa] which was regarded as equivalent to the income from 2 *puṭakas* of land. Thus, in all, there were 8+2=10 *puṭakas* (line 24). It will be seen that 32 palms, at the rate of 10 Gaṇḍakas (Gaṇḍās) per palm, bring 32×10=320 Gaṇḍakas; since 4 cowrie-shells make 1 Gaṇḍā, 20 Gaṇḍās make 1 Paṇa, and 16 Paṇas make

1. See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, pp. 204-05.

one Kāhaṇa (Kārṣāpaṇa or Purāṇa),[1] we get correctly 320 × 4 = 1280 cowrie-shells = 1 Kārṣāpaṇa (Kāhaṇa) or Purāṇa. It is also very interesting that one silver coin was regarded as the annual revenue income of 2 *puṭakas* of land.

The second plot of land, situated in old Daluā-grāma which was contiguous to the [new] village, was attached to the property in the possession of others (*anya-bhuktaka-sthāpita-saṁ*) and contained the following *vā-ṭīs* (*vāstu-ṭikaras*) or homestead mounds, one each attached to *Pokharī-vāḍī* (house with a tank), Lākha, Kāpāvāgha, Raṁkālo, Gaura-Cakrapāṇi and a second Bhavāḍi (*apara-Bhavāḍi*). There were thus six mounds, to which 8 *muṇḍa-vā-ṭīs* or barren mounds were added so as to make 14 mounds covering 8 *puṭakas* of land (line 28).

Apparently in the said area, there were 80 mature arecanut palms (*la-gi vṛ = lamba-guvāka-vṛkṣa*), each of which, excluding wood and leaves, yielded annually 10 Gaṇḍakas (*pra-vṛ-gaṁ = prati-vṛkṣa-gaṇḍakāni*) and an annual revenue income of 2½ coins regarded as equal to the income of 5 *puṭakas* of land. Here we have 800 Gaṇḍakas (Gaṇḍās) from 80 palms, and this sum is equivalent to 3,200 cowrie-shells, *i.e.* 2½ Kārṣāpaṇas or Purāṇas at the rate of 1280 shells per silver coin. The two together, i.e. 8+5, thus made 13 *puṭakas* of land (line 29).

In a part of the land in the east of the village, there was an area of 21 *puṭakas* including some *ti-thā* (a type of land). All the above are said in the inscription to have made 41 *puṭakas* of land, though correctly 10+13+21 would make 44 *puṭakas*. In addition, there was the sum of three coins, probably the annual revenue due to the *koṣṭha* (royal treasury) for a *śi-thā* (*Śiva-thāna = Śiva-sthāna* ?), which was equivalent to the revenue income from 6 *puṭakas* of land. The two items (41+6), together made 47 *puṭakas*. It is stated to have been a recently created new unit of property (line 31).

Then in the semi-developed western field of Daluākoñcī, the land granted, together with a little *ti-thā*, was 900 *śāli* producing *bhūmis* (*śā bhū*) being equal to 36 *puṭakas*. In the southern part of the village, there was a partially developed plot of pasture land measuring 1,000 *bhūmis* equivalent to 40 *puṭakas* (line 33).

There was a plot of land described as *caha-tala* (literally 'lying under a *caha* tree') mixed up with the possessions of the carpenters

1. Cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 279ff.

headed by Ḍhaṅkita (or inhabiting a locality called Ḍhaṅkita), which were attached to Bhetā-grāma and had the following boundaries: in the east—the western side (*kākhaḍi*) of the dried up Dimoyi-nadī; in the south—Chatravāḍī (Sanskrit *Sattra-vāṭikā* ?) attached to the household of Aṭauḍākaṇṭi; according to a document of the carpenters (*Sūtra=Sūtradhāra*) named Pātra, Sujo, Mahāeva (i.e. Mahādeva), Gavitaka and others, there was a plot of pasture land by the side of Vāṭṭāli lying to the west of the *caha* tree (*vṛkṣa*) standing in the land (*pāṭaka*) on the Katuva-Dimoyi canal, in the field measuring 8 *puṭakas* on the small canal (*jolī*) called Chāuṇa-Dimoyi branching off from the Dimoyi-nadī. This was a plot of *śāli*-growing land measuring 350 *bhūmis*, equivalent to 14 *bhūmi-puṭakas*, together with a little *ti-thā* (line 39).

Out of all the above plots, *śāli*-producing land measuring 60 *puṭakas* and including some homestead land, which belonged to four types of land situated in Daluā-grāma, was made the subject of the grant (line 40). It will be seen that, out of the 137 *puṭakas* of land enumerated above, only 60 *puṭakas*, which were *śāli*-producing, were granted.

In the same way, the gift land included a *cāsa* (*karṣaṇa-bhūmi*, land for cultivation) in the southern part of the field in Dudhara-koñcī, measuring 500 *śāli-bhūmis* (*śā-bhū*) equivalent to 20 *puṭakas* and belonging to the son of *Paṁ* (*Paṇḍita*) Devadatta, but lying in the possession of the carpenters of (or, headed by) Ḍhaṅkita. It had Vāṁsāvāra in the east and Digāvāra attached to Khaḍiyā-grāma in the south; while in the west, its boundary was the southern *cās-āli* (*karṣaṇa-bhūmy-āli*, raised border created in the course of cultivation) of the *cāsa-bhūmi* (land under cultivation) of the illustrious *Paṁ* (*Paṇḍita*) Sāgaraśarman, which was in the possession of the illustrious Daśāvatāra (i.e., of the Daśāvatāra temple) and lay about the western border of the canal called Dimoyi-jola. This made 20 *puṭakas* of land (line 45).

In the Chayanāva-maṇḍala—plots of land measuring 12 *bhūmi-puṭakas*, according to a written document (*li-pramā=likhana-pramāṇena*), at Maḍiṣathalā (*Mahiṣa-sthala* ?) situated beyond the eastern part of Kacumoyiā-grāma belonging to the area protected on all sides (*parikṛta*) for stopping the pressure of water (*jal-āghāta-rodhena*) offered by the Dimoyi-nadī—by persons including the *Brā* (*Brāhmaṇa*) Sādhayika who was the *Mājhī* (probably Sanskrit *Madhyastha*, a mediator) attached to one half of the Pañcaśik-āśrama (i.e. engaged for one half

of the *āśrama's* property)—lying in the possession of Kṣuṇṇa, Anupati and Jago. This was a plot of 12 *puṭakas* of land. Out of this, half portion was given as *bhatavaṭa* (probably Sanskrit *bhakta-vṛtti*) and it amounted to 2 *śāli-bhūmi-puṭakas* (line 48).

Likewise, there was a plot of *śāli*-producing land measuring 12 *puṭakas*, according to a written document (*li-pramā=likhana-pramāṇena*), which was a part of Ajagara's land, and this was also given. Thus a plot of 14 *bhūmi-puṭakas* was given in two plots of land out of the area protected by a surrounding embankment created by the *Padātis* (Pāiks) of Pañcaśikā (line 49).

In the same way—in the semi-cultivated area in the jungle called Hāḍama having the Nala-joḍā as the eastern boundary, and the curved *cās-āli* to the south of the pasture land which is to the west of another pasture land and lies in the pasture area on the southern boundary,—the property within these boundaries, the annual revenue income (*sāṁ-hi*) of which was 3 coins regarded as equivalent of the income from 6 *puṭakas* of land (line 52).

Thus, for the delivery of the gift land (*deya-śuddhyā*), this deed (*patrī*) relating to one hundred *bhūmi-puṭakas* was given by Mādhava-deva (i.e. by king Mādhava) to the illustrious Virocana, the *Mahāmaṭh-ādhipati* (chief priest, earlier called *Maṭha-pati*) of the illustrious Kāmeś-vara (i.e. of the god of that name). The people of the area were then advised as follows: "Therefore, being humble, you should pay the usual dues and live in and cultivate [the land] happily." The area of the gift land is again mentioned as 100 *puṭakas* of land, i.e. 60+20 +14+6=100. The charter was issued in the year 25 (apparently of the reign of Mādhava) on the 3rd day of the month of Āśvina.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the document, reference may be made to Pāṇḍarī-maṇḍala, Chayanāva-maṇḍala, Daluā-grāma, Daluā-koñcī, Dudhara-koñcī, Pañcaulakoñcī-grāma, Bhetā-grāma, Khaḍiyā-grāma, Kacumoyiā-grāma, Hāḍama-vana, Dimoyi(Dimoyī)-nadī, etc. Pañcaśikā, Vāṁsāvāra, Digāvāra, etc., may also be names of localities. A number of canals, called *jola*, *jolī* or *joḍā*, are again mentioned in the epigraph. As already indicated above, the land granted by the charter was situated in the neighbour-hood of the Raṅgiā Station of the North-Eastern Frontier Railway.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1.[2] ni //[3] ni // Dharm-ādhikṛten=ānumataṁ(tam) / Peṭaka(ki)kāya asya mataṁ(tam) / Āyapraviṣṭakasya mataṁ(tam //)

2.[4] Svasti // Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Para-

3. mamāheśvara-śrīmat-Kāmākhyā-caraṇa-puttra-pratipakṣa-rāja-bhuja-

4. ṅga-vainateya-niḥśaṅka-siṁha-Kāmarūpeśvara-śrīmad-deva-pādāḥ[5]

5. Pāṇḍarī-maṇḍala-prativa(ba)ddha-Daluā-grāma-nivāsino janapa-

6. dān yathā-pradhānaṁ samādiśanti (/*) matam=astu bhavatāṁ-(tām /) Śrī-bhūmi-karaṇa-saṁ-Kā[3]-śrī[7]-Ana-

7. ntadāśād=u[8]-pattrī-pramā[5] śrīmat-Kāmeśvara-caraṇānāṁ maṭha-pati-śrī-Ti(Vi)rocanasya śrī-

8. mat-Kāmeśvara-sannidhau śrīmadbhiḥ[16] samutsaṛgga(ḥ*)[11] śata-puṭaka-parimita-bhūmiḥ (/*) Ava-

9. llika-śrī-Lā(Mā)dhavaśarmapota-[12] Āyaniva (ba)ndhika-śrī-Sujā-yikayoḥ śrīmad-ādeśāt

1. From the facsimile published in *Journ. Univ. Gau.*
2. This line, which seems to have been engraved at a somewhat later date, contains endorsements most of which are usually found at the end of the charters.
3. I.e., *nibaddha* or *nirīkṣita.*
4. The space for about five *akṣaras* at the beginning of lines 2-5 is occupied by the figure of Gaṇeśa engraved in lieu of an official seal.
5. As we have said above, in the original document later incised on the plates, the name of king Mādhava, the donor, seems to have been written at the top with a mark indicating its position between the words *śrīmat* and *deva-pādāḥ.*
6. I.e. *sambaddha-Kāyastha.* The contraction *saṁ* occurs often in the inscription. *Kā* also occurs once again in line 11.
7. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
8. I.e. ^{0}*dāśād=upalabdha.* Read ^{0}*dāsā*^{0}.
9. I.e., *pramāṇena.* This contraction occurs several times in the inscription.
10. I.e., 'by the king'; cf. *śrīmad-ādeśāt* (by order of the king) in line 9 below.
11. I.e., *samutsṛṣṭa.*
12. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

10. śrī-mahā-dev-āgārād=āgata-pattrī-pramā tyaktāṁśa(śe) Jyaiṣṭā(ṣṭh-ā)ṣṭame(ma)-li-pramā[1] deya-bhū-[2]
11. pu[3] 100 (/*) ataḥ Pāṇḍarī-maṇḍale Maṇḍala-Kā[4]-Gāṅgaeva-tocche-pramā deya-bhū Veñciā-Valaja-
12. ya-Uṅgī-Pāge-Paramā-Ḍikābhir= jjal-āghāta-vo(ro)dhen= ānyatre(tra) bhūmim=ādāya parikṛ-[5]
13. ta-[6] saṁ-Ḍaluvā-[7] grāma-sambhogye li-pramā ekaīśati-[8]śata-bhūmeḥ kṛta-sīmā (/*) pūrvve Vā-
14. ṅgāla-padātīnāṁ bhū(ḥ*) sīmā (/*) dakṣiṇe Pāñcaula-koñcī-grām-ottara-śuska(ṣka)-Dimoyi-nadī (/*)
15. tat-paścima-Praguṇa-gopracāra-paścime Vāṭīleḥ paścima-sapta-cira-bhūmim=ādāya sīmā-

Second Plate : First Side

16. diśi śuṣka-Dimoyi-nadī-jolasya dakṣiṇa-kākhaḍi(ḥ*)[9] sīmā (/*) etan-madhyāt ta(ti)thā-bhū-
17. mau pūrvv-āṁśe='dhva(rdha)-varddhita-Ḍaluā-nāmā(ma)-Koñcyāṁ Karnna(rṇṇa)dhāra-śu(su)tasya vā-ṭī[10] 1 Pā-
18. tra-suta-Ḍapo-sa(saṁ)[11] vā-ṭī 1 Sujo-saṁ vā-ṭī 1 Tavāḍiyāno-saṁ vā-ṭī 1 Bhā-
19. ṭa-suta-saṁ vā-ṭī 1 Naupali-saṁ vā-ṭī 1 Devū-saṁ vā-ṭī 1 Madeśaragaḍa-[12]

1. I.e. *likhana-pramāṇena.* This contraction occurs several times in the inscription.
2. Space for an *akṣara* is cancelled by a mark at the end of the line.
3. I.e., *bhūmi-puṭakāni.*
4. I.e., *Kāyastha. Tocche* may be a local word meaning a kind of recommendation. Or, is it the name of another person like Gāṅgaeva? *Gāṅgaeva* stands for *Gāṅgadeva* in Sanskrit.
5. Space for one *akṣara* has been cancelled at the end of the line.
6. I.e., [land] surrounded by embankment.
7. This is the same as Daluā.
8. I.e., *likhana-pramāṇena ekaviṁśati°*. From other cases in the record, we learn that 25 *bhūmis* were equal to 1 *puṭaka,* so that 2100 *bhūmis* would be equal to 84 *puṭakas*.
9. The word *kākhaḍi* probably means 'a side' (Sanskrit *pārśva*).
10. As we have said, *vā-ṭī,* which occurs many times in the record, stands for *vāstu-ṭīkara* (*ṭikkara*), i.e., a mound of homestead land.
11. It has been already said that *saṁ,* which occurs many times in the record, stands for *sambaddha*, 'attached'.
12. The name may be Maheśvara-gaḍa, 'Maheśvara's fortress'.

20. saṁ vā-ṭī l Vaḍadā-saṁ vā-ṭī l Ghaḍāyāgī-saṁ vā-ṭī l Kāla-Cakrapā-
21. ṇi-saṁ vā-ṭī l Ranā-saṁ vā-ṭī l Picchalī-suta-saṁ vā-ṭī l Vimala-saṁ
22. vā-ṭī l Trābhīma-[1]saṁ vā-ṭī l (/*) evaṁ vā-ṭī 15 (/*) tathā muṇḍā-[2] vā-ṭī 5 (/*) dvā[3]
23. vā-ṭī 20 vāstu-bhū-pu[4] 8 (/*) tath=āto vṛ[5] la-gu-vṛ[6] 32 pra-vṛ-gaṁ[7] 10 sa-hi[8] l (/*)
24. anena bhū-pu 2 (/*) dvā bhū-pu 10 (/*) tathā grāma-pūr[v]-va-saṁlagna-purātana Ḍalua(ā)-
25. grāme anya-bhutaka-sthāpita-saṁ-pokharī-vāḍī-saṁ vā-ṭī l Lākhā-saṁ
26. vā-ṭī l Kāpāvāgha-saṁ vā-ṭī l Raṁkālo-saṁ vā-ṭī l Gaura-Cakrapāṇi-
27. saṁ vā-ṭī l apara-Bhavāḍi-saṁ vā ṭī l (/*) evaṁ vā-ṭī 6(/*) tathā muṇḍa-vā-ṭī 8 (/*)
28. dvā[9] vā-ṭī 14 (/*) vāstu-bhū-pu 8 (/*) tathā kāṣṭa(ṣṭha)-pattr-ādi-va(ba)hir=lla-gu-vṛ 80 (/*) pra-vṛ-

Second Plate : Second Side

29. gaṁ 10 sa-hi 2½ (/*) anena bhū-pu 5 (/*) dvā bhū-pu 13 (/*) tathā grāma-pūrvva-kṣettr-āṁśe ti-
30. thā-samaṁ[10] bhū-pu 21 (/*) evaṁ bhū-pu 41 (/·) tad-grāme koṣṭha-samāsthita-sāṁ-śi-thā-hi[11] 3 (/*)

1. The name may be Śrībhīma or less probably Śrī-Bhīma.
2. *Muṇḍā* (also spelt *muṇḍa*) probably means 'barren' as we have seen.
3. I.e., *dvābhyām*. This contraction occurs many times in the inscription.
4. I.e., *Vāstu-bhūmi-pūṭakāni*. The contraction *bhū-pu* occurs many times in the inscription.
5. I.e., *vṛkṣāṇām*.
6. I.e., *lamba-guvāka-vṛkṣa*, as we have suggested, meaning 'tall or big (i.e. mature and fruit-producing) arecanut palms'. This contraction occurs again in the inscription in line 28 below.
7. I.e., *prati-vṛkṣa-gaṇḍakāni* (income per tree in Gaṇḍakas or Gaṇḍās of cowrie-shells) This contraction occurs again in the inscription in lines 28-29.
8. I.e., *saṁvatsara-hiraṇya*, i e. annual revenue income in coins; also written *sāṁ-hi*.
9. I.e., *dvābhyām*.
10. I.e., 'together with *tithā* (probably, marshy land)'.
11. This may be *sāṁvatsarika-Śiva-thāna(sthāna)-hiraṇya* (annual cash payment to be made at the Śiva temple).

31. anena bhū-pu 6 (/*) dv[ā] bhū-pu 47 (/*) etat=sthāpitatvān=
navaṁ(vam/*) tathā adhva(rdha)-varddhita-Ḍalu-
32. ākoñcyāḥ paścima-kṣettre kiñcit-tithā-samaṁ datta(ttāḥ)
śā bhū[1] 900 (/*) ābhir=bhū-
33. pu 36 (/*) tathā dakṣiṇ-āṁśe='dhva(rdha)-gopracāra-bhū
1000 (/*) ābhir=bhū-pu 40 (/*) tathā Ḍha-
34. ṅkita-sūttradhārāṇām bhuktaka-pracchannen=āsti(sthi)ta-
Bhetā-grāma-prativa(ba)ddha-cahatala-
35. kṣettre pūr[vv]e sukha(ṣka)-Dimoyi-nadyāḥ paścima-kākha-
ḍi(ḍiḥ /) dakṣiṇe Aṭauḍākaṇṭi-
36. śālā-saṁ-cchatra-vāḍī sūttra-Pāttra-Sujo-Mahāeva-[2] Gavitak-
ādīnāṁ li-pramā Di-
37. moyi-nadyāḥ Cchāuṇa-Dimoyi-jolī-kṣettre='ṣṭa-puṭaka-bhū-
me(mau) Katuva-Dimo-
38. yi-jolasya dik-pāṭak-āvasti(sthi)ta-cahavṛkṣa-paścine(me)
Vāṭṭālirddiśi[3] gopracā-
39. ra etan-madhyāt kiñcit-tithā-samaṁ śā[4]-bhūmi[1] 350 (/*)
ābhir=bhū-pu 14 (/*) evaṁ Ḍaluā-
40. grāme catūtala[5]-kṣettre vāstu-samaṁ datta-śā-bhū-pu 60
(/*) tathā Ḍhaṅkita-sūttradhārāṇāṁ
41. bhuktaken=āsti(sthi)ta-Dudharakoñcī-kṣettrasya dakṣiṇ-
āṁśe pū[rv]ve Vāṁsāvāra(ḥ*) dakṣi-
42. ṇe Khaḍiyāgrāmasya Digāvāra(ḥ*) paścime Dimoyi-jolasya
paścima-sīmā-di-

Third Plate

43. śi śrī-Daśāvatāra caraṇānāṁ bhuktaka-paṁ[6]- śrī-Sāgarasa-
(śa)rmmaṇaś=cāsa[7]- bhūme-
44. r=ddakṣiṇa-cās-āli(ḥ*)[8] sīmā (/*) etad-avadhau paṁ-Da-
(De)vadatta-sutasya cāsa datta sā-bhū[9]

1. I.e., *śāli-bhūmayaḥ*. This contraction occurs several times in the inscription. *Śā* is sometimes wrongly written as *sā* or *sāṁ*.
2. I.e., *Mahādeva*.
3. Read *Vāṭṭāli-diśi* or *Vāṭṭāler=diśi*.
4. I.e., *śāli*.
5. Read *catus-tala*, probably meaning 'four types'.
6. I.e., *Paṇḍita*. The contraction is used a few times in the inscription.
7. Sanskrit *karṣaṇa*, i.e., *karṣaṇa-bhūmi*.
8. Sanskrit *karṣaṇa-āli*, i.e., *karṣaṇa-bhūmy-āliḥ*.
9. I.e., *karṣaṇa-bhūmiḥ dattāḥ śāli-bhūmayaḥ*.

45. 500 (/*) ābhir=bhū-pu 20 (/*) Cchayanāva-na(ma)ṇḍale [Kṣu?]ṇṇ-Ānupati-Jago-vu(bhu)ktaken=āsti(thi)t-ādhva-(rdha)-Pañca-

46. śik-āśramīya-Mājhī-Vrā(Brā)[1]-Sādhayik-ādibhiḥ śrī-Dimoyi-nadyā kṛta-jal-āghāta-

47. rodhena parikṛta-saṁ-Kacumoyiā-grāma-pu(pū)rvv-āntarita-Maḍiṣa-thalā[2]-kṣettrāṇi li-

48. pramā bhū-pu 12 (/*) ato='dhva(rdha)-bhatavaṭa(ṁ*) datta-(ṁ*) śā-bhū-pu 2 (/*) tath=Ā'jagarā-kṣettr-āṁśe li-pramā

49. datta(ttāḥ) śā-bhū 12 (/*) dvābhyāṁ Pañcaśikā-padātīnāṁ parikṛta-saṁ datta-bhū-pu[3] 14 (/*) tathā

50. Hāḍama-nāmnā vana[4] adhva(rdha)-bhagna[5]-bhūkhaṇḍe pūrvve Nalajoḍā sīmā (/*) dakṣine gopracāra(ḥ*)

51. paścime gopracāra-digbhāge gopracāra etad-dakṣiṇa-vakreṇa cās-āli(ḥ*) sīm=ā-

52. vadhau sāṁ-hi[6] 3 (/*) anena bhū-pu 5 (/*) evan=deya-śu-ddhyā bhū-puṭaka-śat-aikasya [pa]ttrīm=imāṁ

53. śrīmat-Kāmeśvara-caraṇānāṁ mahāmaṭh-ādhipati-śrī-Viro-canasya śrīman-Mādhavade-

54. va-pādāḥ dattavanta sma (/*) sta(ta)d=etasminn=avanatī-bhūya yathādīyamānaṁ dadānaḥ sukha-

55. mvasata[7] casatati[8] (/*) yatra sāṁ[9] bhū-pu 100 (/*) Saṁ[10] 25 A(Ā)śvina-dine 3 //[11] //

1. I.e., *Brāhmaṇa.*
2. Probably *Mahiṣa-sthala.*
3. I e., *parikṛta-kṣetra-sambaddhāni dattāni bhūmi-puṭakāni.*
4. Read *nāmni vane.*
5. I.e., 'partially cultivated'.
6. I.e., *sāṁvatsarika-hiraṇyāni.*
7. Read *sukhaṁ vasata.*
8. Sanskrit *karṣayata iti.*
9. Here *sāṁ* possibly stands for *sākalyena.*
10. I e., *saṁvatsare.*
11. There is a sort of flower design between the double *daṇḍas* indicating the end of the document.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I B

(१) नि ॥ नि ॥ धर्माधिकृतेनानुमतं(तम्) । पेटक(कि)काय अस्य मतं(तम्) । आयप्रविष्ट-कस्य मतं(तम् ॥) (२) स्वस्ति ॥ महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-परमभट्टारक-पर(३)ममाहेश्वर-श्रीमत्कामाख्या-चरण-पुत्र-प्रतिपक्षराज-भुज(४)ङ्ग-वैनतेय-निःशङ्क-सिंह-कामरूपेश्वर-श्रीमद्देवपादाः (५) पाण्डरी-मण्डल-प्रतिव(ब)द्ध - डलुआग्राम-निवासिनो जनप(६)दान् यथा-प्रधानं समादिशन्ति (।*) मतमस्तु भवतां(ताम् ।) श्री-भूमि-करण-सं-का-श्री-अन(७)न्तदाशा(सा)दु - पत्री-प्रमा श्रीमत्कामेश्वर-चरणानां मठपति-श्रीभि(वि)रोचनस्य श्री(८)मत्कामेश्वर-सन्निधौ श्रीमद्भिः समुत्सर्ग्ग(:*) शत-पुटक-परिमिता भूमिः(।*) अव(९)ल्लिक-श्री-ला(मा)धवशर्म-पोत-आयनिव(ब)न्धिक-श्री-सुजायिकयोः श्रीमदादेशात् (१०) श्री-महा-देवागारादागत-पत्री-प्रमा त्यक्तांशा(शे) ज्यैष्टा(ष्ठा)ष्टमे(म)-लि-प्रमा देय-भू-(११)पु० १०० (।*) अतः पाण्डरी-मण्डले मण्डल-का-गाङ्गएव-तोच्छे-प्रमा देय-भू वेञ्चिआ-वलज(१२)य-उङ्गी-पागे-परमा-डिकाभिर्ज्जलाघात-वो(रो)धेनान्यत्रे(त्र) भूमिमादाय परिक्रु(१३)त-सं-डलुवाग्राम-सम्भोग्ये लि-प्रमा एकई(वि)शति-शत-भूमेः कृत-सीमा (।*) पूर्व्वे वा(१४)ङ्गाल-पदातीनां भू(:*) सीमा (/*) दक्षिणे पाञ्चौलकोञ्चीग्रामोत्तर-शुस्क(ष्क)-दिमोयी-नदी(।*) (१५) तत्-पश्चिम-प्रगुण-गोप्रचार-पश्चिमे वाटीलेः पश्चिम-सप्त-चिर-भूमिमादाय सीमा-

II A

(१६) दिशि शुष्क-दिमोयि-नदी-जोलस्य दक्षिण-काखडि(:*) सीमा (।*) एतन्मध्यात् त(ति)था-भू(१७)मौ पूर्व्वांशेऽध्व(र्ध)-वर्द्धित-दलुवा-नामा(म)-कोञ्च्यां कर्न्न(र्ण्ण)धार-शु(सु)-तस्य वा-टी १ पा(१८)त्र-सुत-डपो-स(सं) वा-टी १ तवाडियानो-सं वा-टी १ भा(१९)ट-सुत-सं वा-टी १ नौपलि-सं वा-टी १ देव-सं वा-टी १ मदेसरगड़-(२०) सं वा-टी १ वडदा-सं वा-टी १ घडायागी-सं वा-टी १ काल-चक्रपा(२१)णि-सं वा-टी १ रना-सं वा-टी १ पिच्छली-सुत-सं वा-टी १ विमल-सं (२२) वा-टी १ त्रा(श्री)भीम-सं वा-टी १ (।*) एवं वा-टी १५ (।*) तथा मुण्डा-वा-टी ५ (।*) द्वा (२३) वा-टी २० वास्तु-भू-पु ८ (।*) तथातो वृ ल-गु-वृ ३२ प्र- वृ-गं १० स-हि १ (।*) (२४) अनेन भू-पु २ (।*) द्वा भू-पु १० (।*) तथा ग्राम-पू[र्व्व]-संलग्न-पुरातन-डलुआ(आ)(२५)ग्रामे अन्य-भुक्तक-स्थापित-सं पोखरी-वाडी-सं वा-टी १ लाख-सं (२६) वा-टी १ कापावाघ-सं वा-टी १ रंकालो-सं वा-टी १ गौर-चक्रपाणि-(:७) सं वा-टी १ अपर-भवाडि-सं वा-टी १ (।*) एवं वा-टी ६ (।*) तथा मुण्ड-वा-टी ८ (।*) (२८) द्वा वा-टी १४ (।*) वास्तु-भू-पु ८ (।*) तथा काष्ट(ष्ठ)-पत्रादि-व-(ब)हिर्ल्ल-गु-वृ ८० (।*) प्र-वृ-

II B

(२९) गं १० स-हि २ १/२ (।*) अनेन भू-पु ५ (।*) द्वा भू-पु १३ (।*) तथा ग्राम-पूर्व्व-क्षेत्रांशे ति(३०)था-समं भू-पु २१ (।*) एवं भू-पु ४१ (।*) तद्ग्रामे कोष्ठ-समास्थित-सां-शि-था-हि ३ (।*) (३१) अनेन भू-पु ६ (।*) द्वा भू-पु ४७ (।*) एतत्स्वापितत्वान्नवं(वम् ।) तथा अध्व(र्ध)-वर्द्धित-डलु(३२)आकोञ्च्याः पश्चिम-क्षेत्रे किञ्चित्तिथासमं दत्त(त्ताः) शा-भू ९०० (।*) आभिर्भू-(३३) पु ३६ (।*) तथा दक्षिणांशेऽध्व(र्ध)-गोप्रचार-भू १००० (।*) आभिर्भू-पु ४० (।*) तथा ढ(३४)ङ्कित-सूत्रधाराणां भुक्तक-प्रछन्नेनास्ति(स्थि)त-भेताग्राम-प्रतिव(ब)द्ध-चहतल-(३५) क्षेत्रे पू[र्व्वे] शुख(ष्क)-दिमोयि-नद्याः पश्चिम-काखडि(डिः ।) दक्षिणे अटौडाकण्टि-(३६) शाला-सं-च्छत्र-वाडी सूत्र-पात्र-सुजो-महाएव-गवितकादीनाँ लि-प्रमा दि-(३७मोयिन द्याः च्छाउण-

दिमोयि-जोली-क्षेत्रे(ऽ*)ष्ट-पुटक-भूमे(मौ) कतुव-दिमो(३८)यि-जोलस्य दिक्-पाटकावस्ति(स्थि)-त-चहवृक्ष-पश्चिने(मे) वाट्टालि-द्दि(दि)शि गोप्रचा(३९)र एतन्मध्यात् किञ्चित्तिथा-समं शा-भूमि ३५० (।*) आभिर्भू-पु १४ (।*) एवं डलुआ(४०)ग्रामे चतूतल-क्षेत्रे वास्तु-समं दत्त-शा-भू-पु ६० (१*) तथा ढङ्कित-सूत्रधाराणां (४१) भुक्तकेनास्ति(स्थि)त-दुधरकोञ्ची-क्षेत्रस्य दक्षिणांशे पू[र्व्वे] वांसावार(:*) दक्षि(४२)णे खोडियाग्रामस्य दिगावार(:*) पश्चिमे दिमोयि-जोलस्य पश्चिम-सीमा-दि-

III A

(४३) शि श्री-दशावतार-चरणानां भुक्तक-पं-श्री-सागरस(श)र्म्मणश्चास-भूमे(४४)र्द्दक्षिण-चासालि(:*) सीमा (।*) एतद्धवधौ पं-द(दे)वदत्त-सुतस्य चास दत्त सा-भू (४५) ५०० (।*) आभिर्भू-पु २० (।*) च्छ(छ)यनाव-न(म)ण्डले [क्षु]ण्णानुपति-जगो-वु(भु)क्तकेनास्ति(स्थि)-ताध्व(र्ध)-पञ्च(४६)शिकाश्रमीय-माझी-व्रा(ब्रा)-सावयिकादिभिः श्री-दिमोयि-नद्या कृत-जलाघात-(४७) रोधेन परिकृत-सं-कचुमोयिआग्राम-पु(पू)र्व्वान्तरित-मडिष-थला-क्षेत्त्राणि लि-(४८) प्रमा भू-पु १२ (।*) अतो(ऽ*)ध्व(र्ध)-भतवट(टं) दत्त(त्तं) शा-भू-पु २ (।*) तथा'जगरा-क्षेत्त्रांशे लि-प्रमा (४९) दत्त(त्ताः) शा-भू १२ (।*) द्वाभ्यां पञ्चशिका-पदातीनां परिकृत-सं दत्त(त्तानि)भू-पु १४ (।*) तथा (५०) हाडम-नाम्ना(म्नि) वन(ने) अध्व(र्ध)-भग्न-भू-खण्डे पूर्व्वे नलजोडा सीमा (।*) दक्षिणे गोप्रचार(: ।*) (५१) पश्चिमे गोप्रचार-दिग्भागे गोप्रचार एतद्दक्षिण-वक्रेण चासालि(: *) सीमा-(५२) वधौ सां-हि ३ (।*) अनेन भू-पु ५ (।*) एवन्देय-शुद्ध्या भू-पुटक-शतैकस्य [प]त्रीमिमां (५३) श्रीमत्-कामेश्वर-चरणानां महामठाधिपति-श्री-विरोचनस्य श्रीमन्माधवदे(५४)वपादाः दत्तवन्तस्म (।*) स्त(त)देतस्मिन्नवनतीभूय यथादीयमानं ददानाः सुख(खं) (५५) म्व(व)सत चस(कर्षय)त (इ*)-ति (।*) यत्र सां भू-पु १०० (।*) सं २५ अ(आ)श्विन-दिने ३ ॥*॥

Chapter Three

BIHAR

No. 1. Antichak Stone Pillar Inscription of Māsanikeśa

Sometime ago I received, for examination, a set of four inked impressions of writings on four sides of a stone pillar from Prof. B.P. Sinha, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar, and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, University of Patna. The pillar was discovered in course of excavations conducted by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, under Prof. Sinha's leadership at Antichak in the vicinity of Pātharghāṭā not far from the Colgong (Kahalgāon) railway station in the Bhagalpur District. Antichak is believed to be the site of the famous Buddhist monastery of Vikramaśīla which was the *viruda* of an early Pāla monarch to be identified either with Dharmapāla (c. 775-812 A.D.) or with Devapāla (c. 812-50 A.D.).[1] This is what is popularly known as the Vikramaśīla monastery.

The inscription on the Antichak pillar is damaged. It is written in the Gauḍīya characters of about the twelfth century A.D. There are altogether 30 lines of writing on the four sides of the pillar—1-9 on the first, 10-17 on the second, 18-25 on the third and 26-30 on the fourth. The record is composed in verse, there being 13 stanzas in different metres.

Verse 1 introduces a *pura* or city described as *Camm-ābhidhāna* which seems to be a mistake for *Camp-ābhidhāna*, 'Campā by name'. The old city of Campā was situated in the suburbs of modern Bhagalpur, about 25 miles from Antichak. Its existence about the twelfth century A.D. is indicated by an image inscription[2] according to which

1. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 115, and note 1.
2. *Journ. Bih. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, pp. 1ff.

the image in question was installed, during the reign of Palapāla, at Campā about the close of that century. The next verse introduces *Rājādhirāja Parameśvara* Kesara, who seems to have claimed to be at least an independent if not an imperial ruler, as having flourished at the city referred to in the previous stanza. Kesara is mentioned as an early king of the family to which the epigraph belonged; but his date as well as his relationship with the Pāla emperors cannot be determined.

In Kesara's family was born, according to verse 3, Hansana, i.e. Haṁsana, described as Lord Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu) incarnate. Haṁsana's wife, whose name cannot be fully deciphered, is mentioned in verse 4. This name written in four *akṣaras*, the second and third of which are rubbed off, though the first is *Va* and the last *sā*.

Verse 5, which is fragmentary, introduces Sāhura (or Sāhvara), the son of Haṁsana and Va**sā. The inscription (verses 5-10) is really a *praśasti* of this chief. Verse 6 is fragmentary, its first foot containing the word *rajyeśa-bandhu-vacasā*, 'at the word (request) of the king's friend', and the third foot *prāptas=tam=enam=atha Gauḍa-nareśvaro=pi*, 'even the lord of Gauḍa received this very person'. It may be that Sāhura was introduced to the Gauḍa king by one of the latter's courtiers and received the king's grace. The first foot of verse 7 says that, stationed at the place which must have been mentioned in the previous stanza, a person (apparently Sāhura) fought with certain enemies, while the fragmentary second foot of the verse mentions the river Gaṅgā. This suggests that the place in question may have been on the Ganges. The reference may be to Campā (Bhagalpur) or to Antichak. The latter part of the stanza suggests that Sāhura spent considerable time in the company of various scholars in the discussion of *kāvya* poems) and *kathā* (stories). Sāhura thus appears to have been a good fighter as well as a learned man.

Verse 8 says that a general named Soṇadāman (Svarṇadāman) was sent by the lord of Vaṅga, at the head of a large fleet of boats, in order to subdue Sāhura. The next stanza, which is fragmentary, describes a great fight and apparently Sāhura's victory over Soṇadāman and states that our hero succeeded in subduing the elephant forces of the lord of Vaṅga. The question now is whether the Gauḍeśvara and the Vaṅgeśvara are the same person or two different rulers. If the same person is described as the lord of both Gauḍa and Vaṅga, we have to think that the said king was at first a friend, but later an enemy of Sāhura. If, however, the Vaṅgeśvara and Gauḍeśvara were two different

rulers, we may conjecture that the reference is to the days of struggle between the Pāla king Madanapāla (1143-61 A.D.), called the lord of Gauḍa, and the Sena king Vijayasena (1097-1159 A.D.), called the lord of Vaṅga.[1] The second of the two interpretations is probably supported by verse 22 of the Deopāḍā inscription of Vijaya, according to which the Sena king led a naval expedition along the course of the Ganges in order to subdue the kings of the west.[2]

The first half of verse 10 is fragmentary and unintelligible. It mentions *cela-dvayaṁ* meaning two pieces of garments probably given to a monk. The latter half of the stanza, which is also fragmentary, speaks of a *vihāra* or Buddhist monastery built in the hilly region by the *rājyapāla* or ruler and of the establishment of something (probably an image) by Sāhura therein. This *rājyapāla* may have been the lord of Gauḍa whose partisan Sāhura was. He was probably no person called Rājyapāla.

Verse 11 introduces Māsanikeśa, famous as the lord of gods, i.e. Indra, as the son of Sāhura. The next verse says that the learned Māsanikeśa secured the services of a Paṇḍita named Mañjuśrī who appears to have been a Buddhist and is stated to have publicised Sāhura's fame in the form of the present eulogy. The last verse contains a prayer for the longevity of Sāhura's *kīrti* (fame-producing work, i.e. the image installed) and wished it to last as long as the sun and the moon shine in the sky, the Gaṅgā flows, the earth moves and Bharga (Śiva) and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) are in the embrace respectively of Gaurī and the Ocean's daughter (Lakṣmī).

Although Mañjuśrī, author of the eulogy, seems to have been a Buddhist, and Sāhura, the subject of his *praśasti*, was also apparently a Buddhist, the composition of the inscription exhibits considerable Brāhmaṇical influence; cf. references to Cakrapāṇi, Bharga, Kṛṣṇa, Gaurī and Jaladhitanayā. There is nothing particularly Buddhistic in the record except Sāhura's pious act which is the installation probably of an image in a Buddhist *vihāra* made by the Buddhist Pāla king apparently at Antichak, supposed to be the old Vikramaśīla monastery, though this name cannot be traced in the extant part of the epigraph.

1. Vijayasena was at first a feudatory, then an enemy and still later an ally of Madanapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 245-46).
2. See N.G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff.

Nothing is known about the persons mentioned in the Antichak inscription from any other source. Their non-Sanskritic names suggest that they were probably scions of an aboriginal tribe like the Cero (Ceravu) king Bhulla, son of Durlabha and grandson of Parāu and known from the Bihiā (Bhojpur District, Bihar) copper-plate inscription dated 1324 A.D.[1]

TEXT[2]

Metres: Verses 1-9 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 10 *Sragdharā*; verse 11 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 13 *Mandākrāntā*.

First Side

1 [Symbol.][3]
Āsīt=puraṁ kanaka-mandira jāla-kānti-
bhinn-āndhakāra-pavan-āsta-ni-
2 śā-vibhāga[m] /
Cammā(mp-ā)bhidhānam=amalendu-kalā-kalāp-ā-
staṁ kāśa-mauktika-
3 vitāna-virājamānaṁ(nam) // 1
Tatr=ābhavad=bharita-bhūri-digantarāla-
vra(bra hmāṇḍa-khaṇḍa-
4 paripiṇḍita-kīrtti-rāśiḥ /
rājādhirāja-parameśvara-divyamūrttiḥ
śrī-Kesaraḥ
5 sakala-bhūmipati-pradīpaḥ // 2
Tasy=nāvaye vijita-vairi-jana-pratāpaḥ
śakti-tray-aika-va-
6 satir=guṇavān=prasūtaḥ /
śrī-Hansa Haṁsa(naḥ prahata-sarvva-Kali-pracāraḥ
sākṣāt=sa eva bhagavā-
7 n=iva Cakrapāṇiḥ // 3
Tasya priyā vinaya-puñja-nivāsa-bhūmiḥ
śṛṅgeri(ṅgāra)-rāśir=iva Va U-
8 Usā va ba(bhūva /
yasya visā(śā)latara-tāra-vilocanena
nirbhartsitā iva mṛgā vanavāsam=īyu-

1. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 140ff.
2. From impressions.
3. It indicates *Siddham, Oṁ siddhiḥ*, or *siddhiḥ=astu* as we have said.

9 ḥ // 4

Second Side

10 Sūnus=tayoḥ kalita-viśva-kalā-[kalāpaḥ*]
— — U — UUU — UU — U — — [/*]
11 Śrī-Sāhvaras=tribhuvan-[ābha]ya — U — — ḥ
— — U — U U U — U U — U — —
12 ḥ // 5
Rājyeśa-vaṁ(baṁ)dhu-vacasā pari — U — —
— — U — U U U — U U — U — —
13 /
prāptas=tam=enam=atha Gauḍa-nareśvaro=pi
— — U — U U U — UU — U — —
14 // 6
Tatra sthitaḥ prahata-vairi-vadhū-vilāso
Gaṅgā ca — U U U — U U — U — — /
15 nānā-vidagdha-jana kāvya-kathā-prasaṅgaiḥ
kālaṁ ninaya sucira[ṁ] ra U — prasāraḥ // 7
16 — — U re subhaṭako=pi vimāna-bhūta-
naukā-sahasra-pārivāra- kṛta-pratāpaḥ /
Vaṅgeśvareṇa subhaṭa-
17 ḥ kila Soṇadāmā
Śrī-Sāhuraṁ damayituṁ prahitaḥ kṛt-āliḥ // 8
āgatya so=pi subhaṭa[ḥ*]

Third Side

18 U U — U garvhho(rbbho)
yuddhaṁ cakāra karavāla-sahasra-gho[ram /]
taṁ Sāhuro=pi
19 U U — U jinaṁ U — —
— — U Vaṅga-nṛpater=vara-danti-yūthaṁ(tham) // 9
Tatr=āditya U — —
20 U U U U U U — — U — — gṛhītvā
kṛtvā tasy=aiva cela-dvayam = i U U
21 U — m-āmalaṁ kṛtsna — — /
[Gaṅgā*]-tīre vihāre giri-bhuvi racite rājya-
22 pālena yatnā-

l=lokānāṁ puṇya—— UUUU matinā sthāpitaṁ Sāhureṇa // 10
Tasy=ā-
23 tmajo jayati Māsanikeśa-nāmā

khyāto va(ba)bhūva Suranātha iva dvitīyaḥ /
yasy=ā-
24 vadāta-yaśasā viśādīkṛteṣu
jyotsnā-vilāsa-viratir=nna diśāṁ mukheṣu // 11
Ten=ābhyasta-
25 samasta-śāstra-paṭunā vidyā-vadhū-preyasā
Mañjuśrīr=iti ko=pi paṇḍita-jana[ḥ]

Fourth Side

26 premṇā samīpīkṛta[ḥ] /
ten=āyaṁ Surasindhu-tuṅga-laharī-nīhāra-śau(śai)la-
27 dyutiḥ
kīrttiḥ Sāhura-vallabhā prakaṭitā vāgbhiḥ praśasticchalāt // 12
28 Yāvad=bhānus=tapati gagane yāvad=āste sudhāṁśu(dhāṁśu)r=
yāvad=Gaṅgā vahati
29 valate yāvad=eṣā dharitrī /
yāvad=Gaurī-Jaladhitanay-āliṅgitau Bhargga-
30 Kṛṣṇau
kīrttis=tāvat=kumuda-dhavalā rājatāṁ Sāhurasya //13

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I. (१) ० आसीत्पुरं कनक-मन्दिर-जाल-कान्ति-
भिन्नान्धकार-पवनास्त-नि(२)शा-विभाग[म्] ।
चम्मा(म्पा)भिधानममलेन्दु-कला-कलापा-
स्तं काश-मौक्तिक-(३) वितान-विराजमानं(नम्) ॥१
तत्राभवद्भरितभूरि-दिगन्तराल-
व्र(ब्र)-ह्माण्ड-खण्ड-(४) परिपिण्डित-कीर्त्ति-राशिः
राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-दिव्यमूर्त्तिः श्री-
केसरः (५) सकल-भूमिपति-प्रदीपः ॥ २
तस्यान्वये विजित-वैरिजन-प्रतापः
शक्ति-त्रयैक-व(६)सतिर्गुणवान्प्रसूतः ।
श्री-हन्स(हंस)नः प्रहत-सर्व्व-कलि-प्रचारः
साक्षात्स एव भगवा(७)निव चक्रपाणिः ॥३
तस्य प्रिया विनय-पुञ्ज-निवास-भूमिः
शृंङ्गेरि(ङ्गार)-राशिरिव व U(८) Usा व(ब)भूव ।
यस्या विसा(शा)लतर-तार-विलोचनेन
निर्भर्त्सिता इव मृगा वनवासभीयु(९)ः ॥ ४
II. (१०) सूनुस्तयोः कलित-विश्व-कला-[कलापः*]
——U—UUU—UU—U——[।*]
(११) श्रीसाह्वरस्त्रिभुवन[।भ]य—U——:
——U—UUU—UU—U——(१२): ॥ ५

राज्येश-वं(ब)धु-वचसा परि—U— —
— — U — U U U — U U — U — —(१३) ।
प्राप्रस्तमेनमथ गौड-नरेश्वरो(S*)पि
— — U — U U U — U U — U — —(१४) ॥ ६
तत्र स्थितः प्रहत-वैरि-वधू-विलासो
गङ्गा च— U U U — U U — U — — ।

(१५) नाना-विदग्ध-जन-काव्य-कथा-प्रसङ्गैः
कालं निनाय सुचि[रं] र U—प्रसारः ॥ ७

(१६) ——Uरे सुभटको(S*)पि विमान-भूत-
नौका-सहस्र-परिवार-कृत-प्रतापः ।
वङ्गेश्वरेण सुभट(१७)ः किल सोणदामा
श्रीसाहुरं दमयितुं प्रथितः कृतालिः ॥ ८
आगत्य सो(S*)पि सुभट[:*] III. (१८) U U—Uगर्भो(ब्भो)
युद्धं चकार करवाल-सहस्र-घो[रम्]
तं साहुरो(S*)पि (१९) U U — U जिन U — —
— —Uवङ्ग-नृपतेर्वर-दन्ति-यूथं(थम्) ॥ ९
तत्रादित्यU— —(२०) U U U U U U — — U — —गृहीत्वा
कृत्वा तस्यैव चेल-द्वयमि U U (२१) U —मामलं कृत्स्न— —।
[गङ्गा*]-तीरे विहारे गिरि-भुवि रचिते राज्य(२२)पालेन यत्ना-
ल्लोकानां पुण्य— —U U U U मतिना स्थापितं साहुरेण ॥ १०
तस्या(२३)त्मजो जयति मासनिकेश-नामा
ख्यातो व(ब)भूव सुरनाथ इव द्वितीयः ।
यस्या(२४)वदात-यशसा विशदीकृतेषु
ज्योत्स्ना-विलास-विरतिर्न्न दिशां मुखेषु ॥ ११
तेनाभ्यस्त-(२५) समस्त-शास्त्र-पटुना विद्या-वधू-प्रेयसा
मञ्जुश्रीरिति को(S*)पि पण्डित-जन[:] IV. (२६) प्रेम्णा समीपीकृत[:] ।
तेनायं सुरसिन्धु-तुङ्ग-लहरी-नीहार-शौ(शै)ल-(२७) द्युतिः
कीर्त्तिः साहुर-वल्लभा प्रकटिता वाग्भिः प्रशस्ति-च्छलात् ॥ १२
(२८) यावद्भानुस्तपति गगने यावदास्ते सुधाङ्शु(धांशु)-
र्यावद्गङ्गा वहति (२९) वलते यावदेषा धरित्री ।
यावद्गौरी-जलधितनयालिङ्गितौ भग्गं- (३०) कृष्णौ
कीर्त्तिस्तावत्कुमुद-धवला राजतां साहुरस्य ॥ १३

No. 2. Bodhgayā Stone Slab Inscription of Buddhasena in the Berlin Museum

In 1971, I met Dr. G. Bhattacharya, who had been one of my Assistants when I was Government Epigraphist for India and was at this time a Research Fellow at the Indian Art Section of the Berlin

Museum, and learnt from him that there is a stone inscription (No. 114) in the Berlin Museum written in characters which Bühler called Proto-Bengali and I call Gauḍīya. I then requested Professor H. Haertel, Director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Statliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin, to send me a few inked impressions of the said inscription. After some time, Professor Haertel sent me first a photograph of the epigraph and then a silicose cast of it.

The inscription was discovered about a century ago at Bodhgayā in the Gaya District of Bihar and is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy from its illustration appearing in Cunningham's *Mahābodhi* published from London in 1892. The writing on the stone belonging to about the 13th century A.D. is fairly well preserved; but it is difficult to read and interpret the record owing to inefficient drafting and careless formation of the letters. The only attempts to decipher the inscription were made by B.B. Vidyavinode in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, B.S. 1317, p. 217, and more successfully by N.G. Majumdar in a paper appearing in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45; but Majumdar tried to read only upto the beginning of line 11 of the record having no less than 21 lines of writing. Moreover, his partial transcript also contains a few serious errors. Thus he failed to read *śrīmad-Vikramapāṭakāt* in line 1 and wrongly read *Buddhasenadeva Buddhasaṁgh-ādi°* in place of what actually reads *Vu(Bu)ddhasenaḥ/ gandhakuṭy-ādi°*.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* also read as *Oṁ Siddhiḥ* or *siddhir=astu* and the auspicious word *svasti*. Then it is stated that the grant was issued from the illustrious Vikramapāṭaka by *Pīṭhīpati Ācārya* Buddhasena (lines 1-2). This ruler is well known from the Jānībighā (near Bodhgayā) inscription[1] of his son (or disciple) *Pīṭhīpati Ācārya* Jayasena, dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat 83, and the *Life* of the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin who visited Bihar and met him in 1234-35 A.D.[2] There is some controversy about the initial year of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat; but in our opinion, the era was counted originally from the accession of Lakṣmaṇasena about 1179 A.D., so that year 83 corresponds to 1262 A.D. which fell within the reign-period of Buddhasena's successor Jayasena.[3] The word *pīṭhī* is

1. See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1459.
2. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, p. 277; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 81.
3. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 274ff.

the same as *pīṭha* or *pīthikā* meaning 'a seat' and refers here to the Vajrāsana at Bodhgayā, i.e., the stone seat on which the Buddha is believed to have sat and meditated and obtained *bodhi* or the supreme knowledge. These *Pīthīpatis* appear to have been originally *Ācāryas* or spiritual guides of the *Pīthīpatis* of the Chikkora family of the Sindhu (Sinda) clan of Kannaḍa origin and may have inherited the title from the latter. The Chikkora Sinda kings, Vallabharāja, 'the lord of Pīṭhikā', and his son *Pīṭhīpati* Devarakṣita (c. 1090-1115 A.D.), are both known from the Sārnāth inscription[1] of Kumaradevī, queen of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra (1114-55 A.D.), while Devarakṣita is also described in the commentary of Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacarita* (II.8) as the *Pīṭhīpati* defeated by Mathana, the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1072-1126 A.D). What is very interesting is that, elsewhere the commentary (II.5) mentions another *Pīṭhīpati* named Bhīmayaśas, probably the successor of Devarakṣita, as a feudatory of Rāmapāla and explains the title meaning 'a lord of Pīṭhī' as 'lord of Magadha (i.e. the Paṭnā-Gayā region)'. That the *Ācārya* successors of the Chikkora-Sinda *Pīṭhīpatis* ruled over the said region together with the western fringe of the Monghyr District as subordinates of the Pālas is suggested by an inscription[2] of c. 1157 A.D. belonging to *Pīthīpati Ācārya* Devasena, a predecessor of Buddhasena and Jayasena and a vassal of the Pāla king Madanapāla (1143-61 A.D.) from Ārmā near the Kājrā railway station in Western Monghyr. Buddhasena and Jayasena, however, ruled after the establishment of the supremacy of Turkish Musalmans in Bihar apparently over a small territory in the Bodhgayā region. That, however, Buddhasena claimed to be 'the lord of Magadha' even after the Muslim conquest of Bihar is suggested by Dharmasvāmin's *Life*.[3]

The *Pīṭhīpatis* appear to have ruled from Bodhgayā; but Vikramapāṭaka, from where Buddhasena issued the present grant, is not known. Probably it was the name of that area in Bodhgayā, where the palace of Buddhasena was situated.

The king's order is next addressed to the inhabitants of the rural areas including their leaders as well as to the cultivators, who were all attached to the *vṛtti* of rent-free property of the entire foundation called

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp 323ff. The inscription assigns Devarakṣita to the Chikkora family; but the *Rāmacarita* commentary (see below) calls him *Sindhurāja*, i.e. the Sinda king.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 42ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 83.

Mahābodhi comprising various establishments like the *Gandhakuṭī*, etc. The word *gandhakuṭī* (literally, 'the perfumed chamber') was originally the room occupied by the Buddha at Śrāvastī, but later indicated the Buddha's private chamber in any Buddhist establishment. In medieval times, the name was applied to the shrine in which the Buddha's image was worshipped in the Buddhist monastic establishments. The declaration states that the *vṛtti* was granted on 'today's date', by *Pīṭhīpati Ācārya* Buddhasena permanently in favour of *Bhikṣu Paṇḍita* Dharmarakṣita who was the chief among king Aśokavalla's . . . (probably, teachers) and the *Rājaguru* (royal preceptor) of the Kamā (elsewhere called Kāma) country. King Aśokavalla (sometimes called Aśokacalla) of the Khasa country in the Sapādalakṣa mountain is mentioned in three Bodhagayā inscriptions, viz., one of the Buddhanirvāṇa year 1813 (probably 1270 A.D.), the second of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat 51 (probably 1230 A.D.), and the third dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat 74 (probably 1253 A.D.). The first of these three inscriptions also mentions Puruṣottamasiṁha, ruler of the Kāma country, as a feudatory of Aśokavalla. These pious Buddhists were apparently leading their retired lives at the Buddhist holy place of Bodhgayā after abdicating or losing their thrones. The said Puruṣottamasiṁha seems to be vaguely alluded to in the present inscription as a disciple of the monk Dharmarakṣita. The Kāma country, to which Puruṣottama originally belonged, may be identified with Kumaun since his overlord Aśokavalla, mentioned as ruler of the Khasa country in the Sapādalakṣa mountain in the Bodhgayā inscriptions, apparently ruled over the Kumaun-Garhwal region as is indicated by an inscription from Gopeśvar in Garhwal.[1]

The addressees are advised (lines 11-13) to become submissive to the donee and to pay him the proper dues as well as to live happily in the estate and cultivate their plots of land. It is further said (lines 13-16) that the *Rājaguru* (i.e. the donee Dharmarakṣita) had to arrange for the rehabilitation of those Ceylonese monks who were just then in Ceylon and those monks of the said country who were still in the

1. For the Gopeśvar inscription, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, App. p. 79, note 5. Since Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions of Northern India does not include the Gopeśvar inscription, I was formerly inclined to locate the territories of Aśokavalla and Puruṣottamasiṁha in Rajasthan (*Some Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History*, pp. 79-80).

place (i.e. Bodhgayā), in accordance with an arrangement that had been previously made.

The following sentence (lines 17-18) seems to mean that the *Mahābodhi-viṣaya*, i.e. property at Mahābodhi, belonging to the Ceylonese should be handed over to them by the donee, while the next sentence (line 18) states, "We shall not get it", meaning that the Mahābodhi property belonging to the Ceylonese should not revert to the State. It is not stated whether these Ceylonese were also monks; but they apparently were.

The concluding sentence in lines 18-21 says that the grant was given (i.e. handed over to the donee) in the presence of *Sādhanika Rāṇaka* Brahmadhara, *Māṇḍalika* Sahajapāla, *Paṇḍita* Brahman and others. Among the titles of these witnesses *Rāṇaka* and *Māṇḍalika* (essentially, 'the governor of a *maṇḍala*') were generally enjoyed by feudatory rulers while *Sādhanika* (modern *Sāhnī*) originally meant 'a leader of forces'.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.] sa(sva)sti / śrīmad-Vikramapāṭakāt / Pī-
2 ṭhīpaty-ācārya-Vu(Bu)uddhasenaḥ /[2] gandhaku-
3 ṭy-ādi-sakala-śrīman-Mahāvo(bo)dhi-vṛ-
4 tter=yathā-pradhān-ādi-prativāsino
5 janapadān karṣakāṁś=c=ārogya(ṁ*) pitu-
6 tvā[3] vadati (/*) vidita-matam=astu bhava-
7 tāṁ[4] vṛrtti(tti)r=asmābhir=adya / dinā[5] rāja-śrī[6]-
8 Aśoga(ka)valladevānāṁ mukhyatamā-
9 nāṁ ca[7] Kamā[8]-rāja-guru-bhikṣu-paṇḍita(tānāṁ)
10 śrī-Dharmarakṣita-caraṇānām=ā-carndrā-
11 [ma]rkkaṁ[9] samarppitā (/*) tad=eṣāṁ vidhe-[10]

1. From a photograph and a silicose cast.
2. The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
3. Read *pṛṣṭvā*.
4. An unnecessary *i-mātrā* is attached to the *akṣara*.
5. Read *adya-dine*.
6. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
7. Possibly *ācāryāṇāṁ* was intended here.
8. Read *Kāma*.
9. Read *ā-candr-ārkaṁ*.
10. There is a *daṇḍa* here to cover a little empty space at the end of the line.

12 yībhūya yath-ocita[ṁ] dadānāḥ sukhaṁ mva(va)-
13 sata karṣata c=eti / deśaṁ(ś)a)-gata-Siṁ-
14 gha(ha)la-sthavirā[ṇāṁ(ṇām)] atra sthitinoñca[1]
15 pūrvva-vyavastha(sthā)yā gauravād=ity=a-[2]
16 śne(śe)ṣañ=c=āmiti(sthitī) rāja-guru[ṇā] vidhatavyā (/*)
17 cyāṁ[3] Siṁgha(ha)lānāṁ Mahāvo(bo)dhi-viṣaya[ṁ]
18 samappi(rppa)yet (/*) na prāpnumo vayaṁ(yam) / amī-
19 soṁrthe[4] sādhanika-rā[ṇa]ka-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmadhara-
20 māṇḍalika-śrī-Sahajapāla-paṁ-[5]śrī-Vra(Bra)hm-ādi(dī)-
21 nāṁ(nām) antaka[6] datāni[7] iti // //[8]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) q स(स्व)स्ति । श्रीमद्विक्रमपाटकात् । पी(२)ठीपत्याचार्य-वु(बु)द्धसेनः । गन्धकु (३) ट्यादि-सकल-श्रीमन्महावो(बा)धि-वृ(४)त्तेर्यथा-प्रधानादि-प्रतिवासिनो (५) जनपदान् कर्षकां-श्चारोग्य(ग्यं) पितु(पृ)(६)त्वा(ष्ट्वा) वदति (।*) विदित-मतमस्तु भव(७)तां वृत्ति(त्ति)रस्मा-भिरद्य । (द्य)दिना(ने) राज-श्री-(८)अशोग(क)वल्लदेवानां मुख्यतमा(६)नां (आचार्याणां *) च कमा-(काम)-राजगुरु-भिक्षु-पण्डित(तानां) (१०) श्री-धर्म्मरक्षित-चरणानामाचन्द्रा(११)मर्क्कं(न्द्रार्क्कं) समर्प्पिता (।*) तदेषां विधे(१२)यीभूय यथोचि[तं] ददानाः सुखं म्व(व)(१३)सत कर्षत चेति । देशं(श)-गत- सिं(१४)ध(ह)ल-स्थविरा[णां(णाम्)] अत्र स्थितिनो(ताना)ञ्च (१५) पूर्व्व-व्यवस्थ-(स्था)या गौरवादित्य(१६)श्ने(शे)षञ्चामीति(स्थिती) राजगुरु[णा] विधातव्या (।*) (१७) च्यां सिंघ(ह)लानां महावो(बो)धि-विष[यं] (१८) समप्पि(र्प्प)येत् (।*) न प्राप्णुमो वयं(यम्) । अमी(स्मि)(१६)सों(न्न)र्थे साधनिक-राणक-श्रीव्र(ब्र)ह्मधर- (२०) माण्डलिक-श्री-सहजपाल पं-श्री-व्र-(ब्र)ह्मादि(दी)(२१ नां(नाम्) अन्तक(न्तिके) दतानि (दत्तं शासनम्) इति ॥ ॥

No. 3. Gayā Prapitāmaheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Maujadīna (Muizuddīn), Vikrama 1297 (1240 A.D.)

This inscription, along with another dated in Vikrama 1325, was noticed with eye-copies by Alexander Cunningham more than a century ago.[9] The records, however, do not appear to have been included in F.

1. Read *sthitānāñ=ca*.
2. There is a redundant *daṇḍa* here.
3. There is a mistake here.
4. Read *asminn=arthe*.
5. I.e. *paṇḍita*.
6. Read *antike*.
7. Read *dattaṁ śāsanam*.
8. In both the cases, the first member of the double *daṇḍa* has an angular projection towards the left.
9. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. III, 1871-72, pp. 127-28, Plate XXXVIII, Nos. 22-23.

Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* appended to *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V. In the revised edition of the said list compiled by D.R. Bhandarkar, only the earlier of the two epigraphs has been included on the basis of T. Bloch's notice,[1] without any reference to Cunningham's work.

Unfortunately, the mistakes in the notices of the two scholars have created considerable confusion. Cunningham reads the date of the epigraph as Vikrama 1297 Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15, Thursday, while Bloch has it as Vikrama 1299 and equates Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 with Thursday the 1st May, 1242 A.D. As regards the year of the date, Cunningham's reading Vikrama 1297 seems to be correct since the last figure is clearly 7 and the third, which is damaged, can be read as 9. Cunningham's eye-copy, apparently prepared by some of his Paṇḍits, gives the week-day in the word which has to be read as *Ravau* (i.e. 'on Sunday'); but the two *akṣaras* are *[G]urau* in the facsimile, and both Cunningham and Bloch take the week-day correctly as Thursday.

Since the year and month are believed to have been Caitrādi and Pūrṇimānta respectively, in Vikrama 1297, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 corresponds to the 23rd May, 1240 A.D., which was a Wednesday. There is little doubt that the almanac consulted by the people responsible for the inscription was slightly faulty as in the numerous cases known to the students of epigraphy.[2] Thus the date of the inscription seems to be really Thursday, the 24th May, 1240 A.D. At that time the Gayā region was included in the dominions of Sultān Muizuddīn Bahrām Shāh (1240-42 A.D.) of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi. He has been called *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna in our inscription.

Recently Dr. Hasan Nishat Ansari of Patna drew our attention to Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription and observed that Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 in Vikrama 1297 was not a Sunday, so that the correct reading of the year would be Vikrama 1257 (1200 A.D.)[3] when the said *tithi* fell on a Sunday. Dr. Ansari was inclined to identify *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna not with Sultān Muizuddīn Bahrām (1240-42 A.D.) of

1. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, 1902-03, pp. 3 and 9. The Report really relates to the year ending with April, 1902, and was printed on the 28th October, 1902.
2. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 226ff; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342ff.
3. Because the third figure in the date is damaged, Cunningham also considered this possibility.

Delhi, but with Muizuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām (1203-06 A.D.) who was the Governor of Ghaznī under his brother Ghiyāsuddīn since 1173 A.D. I could not agree with Dr. Ansari's suggestion especially because the third figure is quite unlike the sign for 5 in the number 15 in the same line of the record and is certainly not 5. His paper on the subject later appeared in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*.[1] He says that, in reading the inscription from the eye-copy and in interpreting the text, he has been helped by Paṇḍits Baladeva Mishra and Jagadisvar Pandey of the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Unfortunately the gentlemen did not realise the indiscretion of taking the week-day in the date to be Sunday on the strength of the useless eye-copy against the reading of both Cunningham and Bloch who examined the original stone. They did not make any attempt to examine the inscribed stone nor did they try to read the inscription from the facsimile of the inscription published by R.D. Banerji more than half a century ago.[2]

Similar cases of indiscretion are noticed elsewhere in Dr. Ansari's transcript and translation of the epigraph. Thus the reading of the passage *Prapitāmahaḥ sākṣī* (i.e. the witness of the *śrāddha* ceremony performed at Gayā was the god Prapitāmaheśvara) in line 6, which is suggested by Bloch who read the inscription from the stone and is quite clear from the facsimile, has been regarded as impossible and, on the basis of the eye-copy, the passage has been read as *prapitāmaha-kṣay-āhni* and translated as 'on the occasion of the day of death of his paternal great grandfather'.[3] Really no value can be attached to such nonsense in Dr. Ansari's transcript and translation of the inscription which are

1. Vol. LII, 1966, pp. 11ff.
2. See Banerji's *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Calcutta, 1919, Plate facing p. 52.
3. Bloch (*op. cit.*, p. 9) opines that the purpose of the inscription is to record a pilgrimage to Gayā by a Rajput from the North-West who says: "I have done Gayā. Witness thereof is Prapitāmaha" He further observes, "A statement of this kind is now technically called Sākṣī-śrāvaṇa or invocation of witnesses. It is incumbent upon every pilgrim either at the end of each of the stations which he has to go through, or at the completion of the whole pilgrimage, on the seventh day, to invoke the gods as witnesses that by completing the prescribed rites he has freed himself from the debt which he owes to his ancestors. In the present ritual, 'the eternal fig-tree' (Akṣaya-vaṭa) and the temple of Prapitāmaheśvara are the last station to which the pilgrim goes and, as a record of this kind refers just to the deity of the temple where the pilgrimage now ends, we may conclude that, in one important point at least, the ritual to be observed at Gayā some 650 years ago was exactly the same as it now is."

both quoted at the end of this section for comparison with our transcript and translation.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī script, there being altogether six lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit and the record begins with the *Siddham* symbol which is followed rather tautologically by the benedictory expression *siddhir=astu*. The date is next quoted as the year 12[9]7 of king Vikramāditya, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15, Thursday, corresponding to the 24th May, 1240 A.D., as already indicated above. The reigning king is then introduced as *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna (Sulṭān Muizuddīn) who is represented as the forest-fire to the grass and dry wood that were his numerous enemies of great prowess. The Sulṭān is, as noted above, identical with Muizuddīn Bahrām (1240-42 A.D.) of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi. The same ruler is mentioned as Maujadīna in an inscription from Boher in the Rohtak District, Haryana.[1]

During the reign of the said Sulṭān, a person named Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva 'performed Gayā' (*Gayā kṛtā*)a long with his wife. In Bengali, the expression *Gayā-Kāśi karā* (literally, 'to do Gayā and Kāśī') means to visit Gayā and Kāśī on pilgrimage; but 'the performance of Gayā' really means 'the performance of the *śrāddha* ceremony of one's ancestors at Gayā', so that Gayā really means *Gayā-śrāddha*. Thus Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva and his wife celebrated the *śrāddha* of their ancestors at Gayā which was regarded as the most suitable place for the purpose.[2] The said Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva belonged to the Ajihila-gotra and the Sopatha family of the Kṣatriya community, and his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are stated respectively to have been Ajayapāla, Uttara and Jagatpāla. It is apparently these ancestors whose *śrāddha* he performed at Gayā. Ajihila is probably the same as the Ajihina-gotra known from early Indian literature.[3] The inscription further says that Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva's brother Rājadeva, who was the father of Jaitrapāla, also 'performed Gayā'. It seems that Rājadeva specially performed the *śrāddha* of his deceased son Jaitrapāla at Gayā. It is unwise to raise the question whether the above persons had any connection with the Pāla ruling family of Bengal and Bihar, which flourished from the 8th to the close of the 12th century A.D. It is apparent that they were ordinary pilgrims. At

1. See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 598.
2. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103ff; also below.
3. Brough, *The Early Brāhmaṇical System of Gotra and Pravara*, pp. 86, 95.

least half of the people mentioned in the record had no *pāla*-ending name. The use of the Nāgarī script and the Vikrama era may suggest that they came from the west since these were not popular in the Gayā region during the age in question.

In the concluding portion of the inscription, the god Prapitāmaha (Prapitāmaheśvara) is mentioned as the witness of the *Gayā-śrāddhas* performed by Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva and his wife as well as his brother Rājadeva. The said statement is followed by the benediction, 'Let there be welfare for the world.' The record ends with the passage *Gayā-uddhṛtā gatā*, i.e. *Gay-oddhṛtāḥ gatāḥ*, apparently meaning that the deceased persons whose *śrāddha* had been performed at Gayā obtained, as a result thereof, deliverance from their sins or the effects of their *karman* and went to heaven. The expression *uddhṛtāḥ gatāḥ* reminds us of Hindī *uddhār ho giyā* which also reminds us of similar expressions in some other languages like Bengali.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.][2] siddhir=astu / Vikramāditya-nṛpateḥ / Saṁvat /[3]
12[9]7 Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 [G]urau // prava(ba)la-tar-ānek-āhi-
2 ta-tṛṇa-va(ba)hala-kakṣa-dāvānale / śrī-suratāṇa-Maujadīne
rājyaṁ kurvvāṇe / Kṣatri-
3 ya-pravara-kula-Sopath-ānvayen=Ājihila[4]-gotriṇā / Jagatpāla-
prapitāmahena / Utta-
4 ra-pitāmahena / Ajayapāla-pitṛkena(ṇa) / śrī-Maṁtreśvara-
Kāmadevena Gayā kṛ-
5 tā[5] / sapatnīkena / tathā bhrātrā Rājadevena Jaitrapāla-
janakena Gayā kṛttā(tā /)
6 Prapitāmahaḥ sākṣī // śubhaṁ bhavatu /[6] jagataḥ // Gayā uddhṛ-
tā[7] gatā(ḥ*) ////

1. From the facsimile in R.D. Banerji's *The Origin of the Bengali Script*.
2. This symbol was pronounced as *Siddham*, *Oṁ siddhih* or *siddhir=astu*, the last being out of the question in the present case.
3. The *daṇḍa* is redundant.
4. Read *Ājihina*.
5. The passage *Gayā kṛtā*, as we have said above, really means *Gayā-śrāddhaṁ kṛtam*.
6. The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
7. Read *Gay-oddhṛtāḥ*. The meaning of the passage, as we have seen, is *Gayā-śrāddhena uddhāritāḥ*.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ५ सिद्धिरस्तु । विक्रमादित्य-नृपतेः । संवत् १२[६]७ ज्येष्ठ-वदि १५ [गु]रौ ॥ प्रव(ब)-लतरानेकाहि(२)त-तृण-व(ब)हु-कक्ष-दावानले । श्री-सुरताण-मौजदीने राज्यं कुर्व्वाणे । क्षत्रि-(३) य-प्रवरकुल-सोपथान्वयेनाजिहिल(न)-गोत्रिणा । जगत्पाल-प्रपितामहेन । उत्त(४)र-पितामहेन । अजयपाल-पितृकेन(ण) । श्रीमंत्रेश्वर-कामदेवेन गया कृ(५)ता । सपत्नीकेन । तथा भ्रात्रा राजदेवेन जैत्रपाल-जनकेन गया कृत्ता(ता ।) (६) प्रपितामहः साक्षी ॥ शुभं भवतु । जगत ॥ गया उद्धृता गता-(ताः) ॥ ॥

TRANSLATION

[Symbol meaning 'Let there be success.'] Let there be success. On Thursday, the 15th lunar day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha in the year 1297 of king Vikramāditya, when *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna, who is the forest-fire to the grass and dry wood that are the numerous powerful enemies, was ruling the kingdom, the illustrious Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva who is the son of Ajayapāla, grandson of Uttara and great-grandson of Jagatpāla and belongs to the Ajihila (Ajihina)-gotra and to the Sopatha family that is the foremost clan of the Kṣatriya community, performed Gayā (i.e. the *śrāddha* of his ancestors at Gayā together with his wife. Likewise, his brother Rājadeva, father of Jaitrapāla, also performed Gayā (i.e. the *śrāddha* probably of Jaitrapāla, at Gayā). The witness [to the performance of the ceremonies] is Prapitāmaha (i.e. the god Prapitāmaheśvara of Gayā). Let there be welfare for the world. [The people whose *śrāddha* has been performed] at Gayā have obtained their deliverance [from their sins or the effects of their *karman*].

ANSARI'S TRANSCRIPT AND TRANSLATION OF THE RECORD

TEXT

1 Om siddhi rastu / vikramadityanṛpateh / samvat 1257 jyeṣṭha vadi 15 ravau / Pravalatarani Kṛ-
2 ta tṛṇa dviṣat kakṣa dāvānalo Śrī Suratāṇa Mojdīna rājyaṁ kurvāṇe Nṛ-
3 pa pravara kulsoya dhanārthaya Nājahīla gotriṇe Śrī Jagatapāla Prapitāmahena /
4 . . .? rapitāmahena / Ajayapāla Pitrakena / Śrī Mantreśvara Kāmadevena Gaja-
5 tā sapatnīkena / tadā (yā?) trātrā (tathā bhrātrā?) Bājadevena Jaitrapālaja labdhena Gayākṛta
6 Prapitāmahakṣayāhni / sā janjava (śrutaṁbha?) śrī (vato?) jagatagho (jagatotha?) Gayāsu hatā (Gayā uddhṛta?) / matā (gatā?) /

TRANSLATION

1 O Supreme Being let it be so! On *Rabau* (Sunday) the 15th day of the dark half *Vadi* of the month of Jyeṣṭha in the royal Vikramāditya Samvat (year) 1257 (14 May A.D. 1200), while the resplendent and blazing Sun-like

2 overpoweringly effective and all-pervasive like forest conflagration, possessing the quality of reducing dry grass and wood to ashes when faced with the neighbouring enemies, the supreme most among the kings *Śrī-Suratāṇa Mojdīna* (revered Sultān Muizuddīn) was reigning for the sake of wealth (of future prosperity or of future reward of virtue)

3 the descendant of the exalted royal family belonging to the *Nājahila* lineage or clan or hereditary group (*gotra*), whose great-grandfather was Sri Jagatapāla

4 . . . and whose paternal ancestor (father) was Ajayapāla, Śrī Mantreśvara, along with Gaja-

5 tā, his wife, and his brother (or cousin) Bājadeva, the son of Jaitrapāla, from whom he had acquired the [ancestral] wealth, performed the [religious] rite or duty at Gayā,

6 on the occasion of the day of death of his paternal great-grandfather. The fact of his arrival in and departure from Gayā is known to the whole universe.

No.4. Khojpur Durgā Image Inscription, Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat 147 (1255 A.D.)

There is an inscription which was found engraved on the pedestal of an image of the goddess Durgā worshipped in the village of Khojpur in the Darbhanga District, Bihar. The epigraph, covering a space 8.7 inches by .75 inch, is divided into two halves separated by two vertical lines. Each half of the record contains only two lines of writing. It is a private document in incorrect Sanskrit and records the construction and installation of the image of Durgā in question. The image is said, in the second part of the record, to have been made by Sūryakara who was the son of Madana. The first line in the left half of the inscription seems to mention the village of Rakaperī and the *Māṇḍavika* Bhondeśvara who possibly caused the image to be made. The official designation *Māṇḍavika* is the same as Sanskrit *Māṇḍapika* generally explained as 'the officer in charge of a *maṇḍapikā* or customs house', i.e. 'a collector of tolls'.[1] The name of the officer is

1. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v. *Māṇḍapika.*

derived from a word like Bengali *Bhondā* or Hindī *Bhondu* meaning 'a simpleton' and falls in the category of names with derogatory sense.[1] It is uncertain whether Bhondeśvara was a *Māṇḍavika* at Rakaperī or the said village was allotted to the deity for her maintenance. The date recorded in the second line of the first half is of considerable interest since it is given in the La-saṁ or Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat prevalent in Mithilā and is one of the earliest recorded dates in that era coming from North Bihar.

The date of the Khojpur Durgā image inscription, found in the second line of the first half of the record, reads: *La-saṁ 147 Āṣāḍha-sudi 12 Śukre*. The image in question was then installed on Friday, the twelfth of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha in the year 147 of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat.

It is well known that Kielhorn made an attempt to determine the epoch of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in an interesting paper published about the close of the last century.[2] He pointed out that, according to a statement of Abul Fazl, supported by some dates in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat found in certain manuscripts, the La Saṁ commenced about the Śaka year 1041 (1119-20 A.D.) whereas, according to the spurious copper-plate grant of Sivasiṁha as well as to certain modern Maithilī almanacs, the epoch of the same era would fall about Śaka 1028 (1106-07 A.D.).

In Kielhorn's opinion, the earlier dates of the era should better be referred to the era as commencing on the 7th October, 1119 A.D. Later writers on the subject have shown that there is great confusion as regards the epoch of the era, so that its initial year varies between 1080 and 1129 A.D.[3] But there is evidence to show that the current practice of counting the beginning of the era from 1108 A.D. was prevalent in early times also.

Some years ago, we published a Sanskrit-Maithilī document.[4] In lines 1-2 of this record, we have the passage: *viṁśaty-adhika-ṣaṭ-śate likhyamāne yatr=āṅken=āpi 620 La-Saṁ* and in line 18 we have *Caitr-āsita 3 Kuje Śake 1651 San 1136 Sāl*. Thus the document equates Śaka

1. For such derogatory names popular in Eastern India, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 64, note 2.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 1-7.
3. Cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 271ff.
4. *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp. 87-91. See also Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 219ff.

1651 (1729-30 A.D.) and the Faslī San 1136 with La-Saṁ 620. This equation points to the commencement of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat in 1108 A.D. as is said to be supported by the present day almanacs of Mithilā.[1] Similar is the case with the date of the Khojpur Durgā image inscription.

The date of this epigraph, viz., La-saṁ 147 Āṣāḍha-sudi 12 Friday, seems to support the commencement of the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṁvat in 1108 A.D. because, if the date is referred to 147 + 1108= 1255-56 A.D., we get a Friday on Āṣāḍha-sudi 12. The date of the Khojpur inscription thus seems to be Friday, the 18th June, 1255 A.D.

It has been suggested that the La-saṁ, generally associated with the *atīta-rājya* or past sovereignty of Lakṣmaṇasena, started in the Gayā region where we have the earliest records dated in the era and that it began to be used after Lakṣmaṇasena's reign had been ousted from the Gayā area by the Gāhaḍavālas. It is further suggested that the reckoning was calculated as the continuation of Lakṣmaṇasena's regnal reckoning. As regards the confusion about the commencement of the era, it is said, "This confusion appears to be associated with the fact that the era was initiated by the people of the Gayā region, but that it migrated, even in its infancy, to North Bihar with the migration of many people of South Bihar to the north as a result of the Muslim conquest of the former region at the close of the twelfth century . . . The commencement of the era, synchronising with Lakṣmaṇasena's accession in 1179 A.D., seems to have been later confused with the day of the king's birth, about which people's ideas were probably characterised by confusion owing to the absence of a unanimous tradition."[2]

TEXT[3]

Left Half

1 [Symbol.] Rakaperī-grāmo[4] Māṇḍavika-śrī-Bhondeśvaraḥ[5]
2 La-saṁ[6] 147 Āṣāḍha-sudi 12 Śukre

1. If *Caitr-āsita* in the date is regarded as a mistake for *Caitra-sita*, Śaka 1651, Caitra-sudi 3, Tuesday, would regularly correspond to the 10th March, 1730 A.D.
2. Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 277-78.
3. From an impression.
4. The reading may also be *grāme* which seems to be better.
5. The *visarga* sign has been engraved below *ra* for want of space at the end of the *akṣara*.
6. The *anusvāra* is of the Bengali type.

Right Half

1 . . . racala (?)[1] śrī-Madana-sū-
2 nunā śrī-Sūryakareṇa pratimā ghaṭanā //[2]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I. (१) रकपेरी-ग्रामो माण्डविक-श्री-भोन्देश्वर: (२) ल-सं १४७ आषाढ-सुदि १२ शुक्रे
II. (१) . . . २चल (?) श्री-मदन-सू(२)नुना श्री-सूर्यकरेण प्रतिमा घटना(हिता) ।

No. 5. Bihārsharif Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1317 and Vikrama 1452 (1395 A.D.)

Some years ago, A. Banerji-Sastri published an interesting note entitled 'Evolution of Māgadhī Script'.[3] The title of the article may lead one to expect that the author offered in it a dissertation of the type of Bühler's celebrated essay on the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet. But there is hardly anything in Banerji-Sastri's note, covering only two pages of the journal, besides mere references to the following: (1) Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Tafel VI; (2) *JBORS*, Vol. XXIII, Part i, March, 1937, p. 11; (3) a manuscript of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (copied in 1464 A.D.), which was acquired by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in 1938; and (4) a stone inscription acquired by the Patna Museum from Bihārsharif in 1943. There is no description of any script in the article; but the learned author offered us a short note on the Bihārsharif inscription referred to above, together with the facsimile.

The valuable part of Banerji-Sastri's note contains the following details regarding the find of the inscription in question: "In January 1943 was acquired the inscribed piece of stone reproduced in this number. Its exact findspot is not known. The Curator, Patna Museum, informs me that this stone slab was lying for some time at the residence of the Sub-Divisional Officer, Bihar Sharif. He presented it to the Patna Museum. The stone is black schist generally found in Bihar. The slab is 4′ 9″ × 1′ 1″ × 6″. There are four lines of inscription on one side only, the inscribed space measuring 2′ $4\frac{3}{4}$″ × 3/5″ × 8″ (sic.).

1. A reference to the installation of the image was expected in the first half of this line.
2. There is a *visarga*-like sign before the double *daṇḍa*, which is a part of the stop. Better read *ghaṭitā* for *ghaṭanā*. The *akṣara ṭa* in *ghaṭanā* looks like *ḍha* in *Āṣāḍha*.
3. See. *Journ. B. Or. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1942, pp. 440-41.

It bears Patna Museum Archaeological No. 10601. These details have been supplied by the Curator, Patna Museum, and the inscription is reproduced here by the kind permission of P.C. Manuk, Esq., President, Managing Committee, Patna Museum."

We consider the above information valuable because the inscription is written in the early Bengali-Maithilī script and its discovery in West Bihar is of special significance. The other Bihārsharif inscription bearing the date Vikrama 1553 (1496 A.D.) is also written in the early Bengali (or Bengali-Maithilī) alphabet and raises the question of its prevalence during the medieval period in the Patna area of Bihar where the Nāgarī script and its variety the Kāyethī are now in general use.

As regards the contents and value of the present Bihārsharif inscription, Banerji-Sastri remarks as follows: "The inscription is of the usual votive donation type. The last line runs *Likhitaṁ sūtrakāreṇa Kāmadevena karmmiṇā Śake 1322 Nṛpa-Viāramārke Saṁ 1458*. English translation—Inscribed by the carver Kāmadeva in the Śaka era (year ?) 1322 and in the era of the sun-like king Vikrama, Saṁ 1458. Śaka 1322=1322+78=1400 A.D.: Saṁ 1458=1400 A.D. Thus the inscription is written in the Māgadhī script dated 1400 A.D."

It will be seen that out of the four lines of writing on the inscription, Banerji-Sastri tried to read only the last line. It has, however, been found on examination that there are several unfortunate errors in his views on the record as quoted above.

In the first place, the inscription is not 'of the usual votive donation type'. It records the construction of a *kīrtti* (i.e. a fame-producing work, here meaning 'a structure or temple') to house the deity Kauśika-nāga by a number of persons. The worship of Kauśika-nāga at Bihārsharif or in its neighbourhood is of considerable interest to the student of India's cultural history in view of the fact that the *Mahābhārata* mentions the same deity in relation to Rājagṛha, modern Rājgir which is not far away from Bihārsharif. The description of Rājagṛha in the *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparvan, Chapter 21, contains the following verses (9-10) speaking of the Nāgas worshipped at the old capital of Magadha:

Arbudaḥ Śakravāpī ca pannagau śatru-tāpanau /
Svastikasy=ālayaś=c=ātra Maṇi-nāgasya c=ottamaḥ //
aparihāryā meghānām Māgadhā Manunā kṛtāḥ /
Kauśiko Maṇimāṁś=c=aiva cakrāte c=āpy=anugraham //

The verses speak of the Nāga deities of Rājagṛha as Arbuda, Śakravāpin, Svastika, Maṇi-nāga, Kauśika and Maṇimat, of whom Svastika and Maṇi-nāga had their own temples in the city. Numerous old Nāga images have been discovered in the ruins of Rājgir while the local Maṇiyār Maṭh has been taken to represent an ancient Maṇi-nāga-maṭha. The Rājgir area, in which Bihārsharif is situated, was one of the greatest centres of the Nāga cult in Eastern India.

Secondly, in what has been read as *sūtrakāreṇa Kāmadevena karmmiṇā* and translated as 'by the carver Kāmadeva', *sūtrakāreṇa* has been wrongly deciphered. The word *sūtrakāra* of course means a weaver or carpenter; but the reading of the expression as found in the record is clearly and undoubtedly *svarṇṇakāreṇa*. Kāmadeva was therefore a goldsmith and not 'a carver'. Thirdly, what has been read as *Śake 1322* is clearly *Śake 1317*. The same date seems to have been given in words at the beginning of line 1. Unfortunately, the letters giving the year are peeled off, although the following words giving the actual day are clear. This part reads: *c=Āśvine māsi śukle vāre Śukre daśamyām*. The date of the consecration of the *kīrti* or shrine for the god Kauśika-nāga was thus Śaka 1317, Āśvina-sudi 10, Friday. The date corresponds to the 24th September, 1395 A.D. Banerji-Sastri's date is thus five years later than the actual date of the record.

Fourthly, what has been read by Banerji-Sastri as *nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṁ 1458* is undoubtedly *nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṁ 1452*. The type of *2* occurring here is used several times in the Mehār plate[1] of Dāmodara. There cannot moreover be any doubt about the reading of the date as it is also given in words at the beginning of line 3 of the inscription. The passage in question (not studied by Banerji-Sastri) reads: *yugmeśāsya-kṛt-aik ābde kānte nṛpa-guros=tithau*. In this *yugma*=2, *īś-āsya* (literally, 'the faces of Īśa or Śiva')=5, *kṛta*=4, and *eka*=1. According to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*, the words would make 1452 [of the Vikrama era]. The actual date is called the *tithi* of the *nṛpa-guru*. The expression *nṛpa-guru* here apparently means 'the foremost of rulers' as in the *Raghuvaṁśa*:[2]

Tasyāḥ prasann-endu-mukhaḥ prasādaṁ
gurur=nṛpāṇāṁ gurave nivedya /
praharṣa-cihn-ānumitaṁ priyāyai
śaśaṁsa vācā punaruktay=eva //

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182ff.
2. II 68.

Here Dilīpa is called *nṛpāṇāṁ guruḥ*, i.e. *nṛpa-guru*, 'the foremost of kings'. The use of the expression can also be traced in epigraphical literature.[1] Thus the *nṛpaguru tithi* of the inscription means 'a royal *tithi*'. We have seen that what is apparently the same *tithi* is quoted in line 1 of the record as Āśvina-sudi 10, which is the Vijayā-daśamī day. That the Vijayā-daśamī was regarded as a royal *tithi* will be clear from the citations under the word *Durgā* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*.[2] The date in question is therefore the same as quoted in line 1 of the inscription, namely, Friday, the 24th September, 1395 A.D.

Fifthly, what Banerji-Sastri calls "the Māgadhī script, dated 1400 A.D." is the early Bengali (or Bengali-Maithilī) alphabet of 1395 A.D. The letters of the inscription very closely resemble those of the modern Bengali alphabet. The early medieval script of Eastern India, from which the modern alphabets of Bengal, Assam, Orissa and Mithilā (North Bihar) developed, was known as Gauḍī.[3] The letters of the present inscription have more marked resemblance with those of the present-day Bengali alphabet and especially of the late medieval epigraphic and manuscript records of the Bengal area than even with those of the modern Maithilī alphabet, although the difference between the late medieval alphabets of Bengal and Mithilā was very little. Whether the absence of Maithilī influence on the record is suggested by the date given in the Śaka era but not according to the Lakṣmaṇa-sena Saṁvat is difficult to settle; but it may do. In any case, however, Banerji-Sastri's description of the alphabet of the present Bihārsharif inscription as 'the Māgadhī script, dated 1400 A.D.' is apparently unfortunate and utterly unwarranted.[4] Verse 2 of the inscription says that, in the Vikrama year 1452, on the royal *tithi* (i.e. the Vijayā-daśamī), a person named Deśānanda (apparently an architect or mason) constructed the beautiful *kīrti* (i.e. the shrine of the Nāga deity Kauśika)

1. Cf *rājñāṁ guruḥ śrī-Vijay-ākhya-devo*, etc., in verse 5 of the Rewah inscription of Malayasiṁha (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp 265ff).
2. Cf. *tad-dine rājā yātrāṁ kuryāt yathā—daśamīṁ yaḥ samullaṅghya prasthānaṁ kurute nṛpaḥ / tasya saṁvatsaraṁ rājye na kv=āpi vijayo bhavet // svayam-aśaktau khaḍg-ādi-yātrā kartavyā yathā—kārya-vaśāt svayam-agame bhūbhartuḥ kecid=āhur=ācāryāḥ, chatr-āyudh-ādyam=iṣṭaṁ vaijayikaṁ nirgame kuryāt.*
3. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1952, pp. 123ff.
4. It may also be pointed out that the description of what has been published by Banerji-Sastri as 'the autograph of Vibhūticandra (1203 A.D.)' as Māgadhī is equally unjustified. As in a few other medieval manuscripts found in Nepal, this one uses a type of medial *i* which was widely used in Orissa.

The last word of this stanza goes with the next verse which says that a Kāyastha named Preteśvara, who was probably the teacher in a local school, composed the verses of the inscription and that it was *likhita* (engraved) by the goldsmith Kāmadeva. Considering the fact that it was the Brāhmaṇas who usually learnt the Sanskrit language in medieval India, this Kāyastha's knowledge of that language (of course not very deep) is interesting, even though there are some other cases of the kind.[1] Another interesting fact is that a goldsmith was engaged in engraving a stone inscription.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: verse 1 *Sragdharā*; verses 2-3 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1 ——————U——UUUUUU—[3]c=Āśvine māsi śukle
vāre Śukre daśamyām=abhimata-phaladaḥ sarva-vighn-āpahārī (/*)

2 yo=sau nāgaḥ prasiddhaḥ spha(pha)ṇi-maṇi-sahitaḥ Kauśiko[4] nāmadheyas=
tasy=aiv=[Ā]kr[ū]ra-Śrī[l]eśa-Pati-[5]Kusalai ropitā kīrttir =eṣā // 1

3 Yugm-eśāsya-kṛt-aik-āvde(bde) kā[n]te nṛpa-guros=tithau /
Deśānando varāṁ kīrttim=akār=īty=a'rth-ālaṁkārau[6] // 2
[Kāya]s[th]aiḥ sadupādhyāyaiḥ ślokau [Prete]śva[rai]ḥ[7] kṛtau(/*)

4 likhitaṁ svarṇṇakāreṇa Kāmadevena karmmiṇā // 3
Śake 1[3]17 nṛpa-Vikramārke Saṁ 1452 (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

१ — — — — U——UUUUUU — चाश्विने मासि शुक्ले
वारे शुक्रे दशम्यामभिमत-फलद: सर्व-विघ्नापहारी (।*)

1. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 341, 345; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 33, 38, 66.
2. From impressions.
3. The year of the Śaka era must have been mentioned here in words.
4. The expected *Kauśika-nāmydheyaḥ* does not suit the metre.
5. An extra short syllable is required here by the metre. Whether the author failed to accommodate the personal names in the passage agreeably with the metre or the first *akṣara* of a name like *Supati* was left out owing to inadvertence cannot be determined.
6. The *avagraha* sign is unnecessary. Better read *arth-ālaṅkṛtau*.
7. The plural number here as well as in the adjective is meant for *gaurava*. As the number of verses is three, better read *ślokāḥ*. and *kṛtāḥ* Apparently the author claimed the authorship of verses 1-2, though verse 3 was also probably composed by him.

२ यो(ऽ*)सौ नागः प्रसिद्धः स्फ(फ)णि-मणि-सहितः कौशिको नामधेय-
स्तस्यैव [क्रू]र-श्रीलेश-(सु*)पति-कुशलै रोपिता कीर्तिरेषा ॥१
३ युग्मेशास्य-कृतैकाव्दे (ब्दे) का[न्ते] नृपगुरोस्तिथौ ।
देशानन्दो वरां कीर्त्तिमकारीत्यऽर्थालकारौ ॥२
४ लिखितं स्वर्ण्णकारेण कामदेवेन कर्म्मणा ॥३
शके १[३]१७ नृप-विक्रमार्के सं १४५२ (।*)

TRANSLATION

This fame-producing object (i.e. shrine) of him who is that famous Serpent named Kauśika, who, endowed with the snake jewel, is the giver of desired objects and is the remover of all obstacles, was founded by Akrūra, Śrīleśa, Pati and Kuśala on Friday, the tenth lunar day of the bright half of Āśvina [in] . . . This excellent fame-producing object was constructed by Deśānanda on the pleasant lunar day of the foremost of kings (i.e. on the Vijayā-daśamī *tithi*) in the [Vikrama] year [1452 counted by the words] *yugma* (2), *īś āsya* (5), *kṛta* (4) and *eka* (1). The Kāyastha Preteśvara, who is a good teacher, composed the [above] two stanzas which are endowed with meaning and ornamentation. [The inscription] was written (i.e. engraved) by the active goldsmith Kāmadeva. [Dated] in the Saka year 1317 [and] in the king Vikramārka year 1452.

No. 6. Bihārsharif Stone Slab Inscription of Vikrama 1553
(1496 A.D.)[1]

A stone slab bearing an inscription in three lines was discovered at Bihārsharif and is now preserved in the Paṭnā Museum.

The three inscribed lines of the record cover a space a little below two feet in length and about 3 inches in breadth. The letters, which are rather carelessly shaped, are not quite uniform in size. The characters employed are late Bengali (or Bengali-Maithilī) of the fifteenth-sixteenth century. Since, however, the record is incised on stone, the letters in some cases have slightly different or early form as compared with the alphabets of contemporary Bengali manuscripts. Of initial vowels, we have only *ā* which resembles the form of the letter in the Kamaulī plate[2] of Vaidyadeva (twelfth century). The upper left stroke of *dha* is not curved as in the manuscript of the

1. Cf. *Journ. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1948, pp. 114ff.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 250ff.

Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana (about the sixteenth century)[1] *Śa* is, again, not of the developed Bengali type as found in that manuscript. *Ra* is written sometiines with a dot in the triangle, but sometimes without it. The lower left stroke of *ma* joining the right vertical line is slanting only in one case. *Sa* has been written in two different ways. The *anusvāra* is not represented by the later 'dot and bar'. Medial *u* is quite modern in some cases; but *ru* and *gu* (in line 2; cf. *gu* in line 1) are not written in the Bengali fashion. *Bha* is of the old type. *Ba* has not been distinguished from *va*.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit. It is written in verse; but the irregular metre shows that the author was not a successful versifier. Slight emendation would render the two verses contained in the record metrically satisfactory.

The record contains a date which is given both in the year of king Vikrama as well as in the year of the Northern Cycle of Jupiter. The name of the year is given as Rudhirodgārin and the Vikrama year is indicated by the words *guṇa* (i.e. 3), *śara* (i.e. 5), *bāṇa* (i.e. 5) and *rūpaka* or *rūpa* (i.e. 1). The date, according to the principle of *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*, is therefore Vikrama 1553 which was a Rudhirodgārin year and corresponds to 1496 A.D. The day referred to is Thursday, the seventh of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa. The date is irregular.

The last line of the epigraph records a pious act of a person whose name is not mentioned. The line is difficult to interpret as it is full of errors. It appears, however, to record the construction of an image of a deity called Rājadhara who was apparently named after a person of that name.[2] It also refers to the construction of an unspecified object which is referred to as *kīrtti* and seems to have been a temple for the deity.[3] The image was probably enshrined on the *tīra*,

1. The manuscript has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D. (cf. *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IV, p. 374); but the modern form of *śa* in the manuscript is later than the same letter as found in the Barākar inscription of Śaka 1383 (1461 A.D.) in which it stands midway between its older and modern forms. See *ibid.*, Vol. II, 1936, plate IV.
2. As a personal name, Rājadhara is known from the history of Tripurā and Assam. See *Rājamālā*, ed. K.P. Sen, Vol. I, Intro., pp. 66-67, Nos. 160 and 175; Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, p 39.
3. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 206, note 6; also *Ekāmre siddha-tīrthe caturamarakulī cāruśālā-sametaḥ Kalāvatyā tay=aiṣa kṣiti-mukuṭa-nibhaḥ kāritaḥ kīrttirājaḥ* in verse 12 of the Bhubaneswar inscription of Kolāvatī (*Journ. As.*

i.e. bank of the Ganges.[1]

The policy of temple spoliation pursued by some of the Muslim rulers of medieval India is known to all students of history. It is again quite well known that zealous Muslims very often built mosques with materials collected from Hindu temples destroyed by them. Sometimes even the back slabs of broken images were used in the construction of mosque walls. Several such slabs are found embedded in the walls of the celebrated Zāffar Shāh Mosque at Tribeṇī in the vicinity of Calcutta. The present inscription seems to show that the inscribed stone originally belonged to some Hindu structure. The Bengali script used in the record does not really suggest that the construction, to which the stone belonged, was situated somewhere in Bengal. It is difficult to assume that the materials of the building were carried to a long distance to be utilized in building a mosque in the Patna District. It should be remembered on the other hand that the use of the Bengali (or Bengali-Maithilī) script was prevalent in the medieval period at least in East and North Bihar. Some modern records of the Santal Parganas prove the use not only of the Bengali Sāl and the Bengali script, but also of the Bengali language.[2] The *Mandāragiriprakaraṇam*, incised on the right-hand side pier in the porch in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deogarh about the junction of the Districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Santal Parganas, is written in the

Soc. Beng., Vol. VII, p. 558). K.T. Telang (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 36, note 13) noticed, on the authority of Bhagwanlal Indraji, that in certain cases *kīrtana* means 'a temple' (cf. the Kharepatan plates of Śaka 1016, *ibid.*, p. 34). This was supported by R.G. Bhandarkar (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228f) who referred to the Baroda plates of Kakka II, dated Śaka 734 (*ibid.*, p. 159), and quoted passages from the *Agni Purāṇa* (*Bib. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 111), Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī* in which the word has evidently the same meaning. J.F. Fleet attributed the same meaning to *kīrtana* as well as *kīrtti* and referred to the Dudahi inscription of Devalabdhi (*ibid*, Vol. XII, p. 389), the Udayagiri inscription of Vikrama 1093 (*ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 185) and the Mandār hill and Vaidyanātha temple inscriptions of Ādityasena (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212 and note 6). Bhandarkar and Fleet later suggested that *kīrtti* and *kīrtana* should not be actually translated by the word 'temple' or any other specific term, but that they denote generally 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. The particular work mentioned as *kīrtti* or *kīrtana* may be a temple or a tank or any thing else of a suitable nature (cf. *puṣkariṇī-kīrtti* of the Mandār hill inscription).

1. Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *tīra.*
2. Cf Datta, *The Santal Insurrections*, pp. 85-86.

Gauḍīya script from which the East Indian alphabets developed. Moreover, the script of Mithilā in North Bihar is even now practically the same as the Bengali alphabet. That the temple was situated in Bihar is not only supported by the provenance of the record and its palaeographical similarities with the Bihārsharif inscription of 1395 A.D. discussed above, but probably also by its date which is given in Vikrama-saṁvat and is also called Rudhirodgārin according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter. The use of an era was not popular in ancient Bengal. The Śaka era, popular in the Deccan, was popularised into the country during the age of the Senas who originally belonged to Karṇāṭa in the South. The use of the Vikrama era, however, never became popular in Bengal. Naming the years of the date according to Jupiter's Cycle, Northern or Southern, is also practically unknown in the country. On the other hand, the popularity of the Vikrama Saṁvat in Uttar Pradesh and of the said era as well as of the years of the Northern Cycle of Jupiter is noticed in the central and western regions of India as well. Its influence can also be traced on the medieval epigraphy of Bihar.[1] Thus the temple referred to in the inscription was situated in the Bihārsharif region.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the date of our inscription falls within the reign-period of Sultān Sikandar Shāh (1489-1517 A.D.) of the Lodī dynasty of Delhi, who is known to have extended his sway over Bihar. The Sultān 'was a furious bigot'. "He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathurā converting the buildings to Muslim uses, and generally was extremely hostile to Hinduism."[2] The fact that the person who was responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the *vigraha* considered it unwise to mention his name specifically in the epigraph may not have been quite unconnected with the anti-Hindu policy of the government of Bihar under Sultān Sikandar Shāh Lodī.

TEXT[3]

1 Avde Vikrama-bhūbhūja guna-śare vāne tathā rūpake
Pauṣe māsi tithau sa[rptamake] ca pa-

2 kṣe ca valakṣ-etare /
Rudhirodgāri-vatsare dine Suraguror=dharmm-ārthan=ti (?)-

1. Cf. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 370.
2. See Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 253-54.
3. From an impression.

3 re
sīṣṭa śrī Rājadharaḥ saveṣṭaro (?) kīrttim=imāṁ ca kāritaṁ //
śubham=astu (?)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) अब्दे(ब्दे) विक्रम-भूभू(भुजो) गुन(णे) शरे बाने(बाणे) तथा रूपके (।*)
पौषे मासि तिथौ स[र्त(प्त)मके] च प(२)क्षे च वलक्षेतरे। (।।)
रुधिरोद्‌ग रि-वत्सरे दिने सुरगुरोर्धम्मर्थन्ति(न्ती) ३)रे (।*)
सी(सृ)ष्ट(:*) श्री-राजधरः स वे(वि)ष्टरो(रः) कीर्त्तिरिमां(यं) च कारितं(ता) ॥ २
शुभमस्तु (?)

CORRECTED TEXT

abde Vikrama-bhūbhujo guṇe śare bāṇe tathā rūpake /
Pauṣa-māsi tithau ca saptamake pakṣe ca valakṣ-etare // 1
Rudhirodgāri-vatsare dine Suraguror=dharm-ārthaṁ tīre /
sṛṣṭaḥ śrī-Rājadharaḥ sa-viṣṭaraḥ kīrttir=iyaṁ ca kāritā // 2[1]
śubham=astu //

TRANSLATION

[The image of] the illustrious Rājadhara provided with a seat, has been made as well as this fame producing work (i.e., a temple) has been caused to be constructed on the bank [of the Ganges], for the sake of religious merit, on Thursday, the seventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Pauṣa in the Rudhirodgārin year [which is] the year of king Vikrama [indicated by] the [three] strands, the [five] arrows, [again] the [five] arrows and the [one] integer. Let there be good fortune.

No. 7. Ghoṣikuṇḍī Well Inscription of the time of Esalema Sāha (Islām Shāh), San (Hijrī) 960 and Vikrama 1610 (1553 A.D.)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of Ghoṣikuṇḍī near the Kiul railway station in the western part of the Monghyr District.[2] There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and 7½ inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are nearly two inches in height.

The characters belong to the Bengali-Maithilī alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Bihārsha-

1. The metre of the two stanzas is *Gīti*
2. Cf. *A.R Ind. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. C-413.

rif (now Paṭnā Museum) inscription of 1496 A.D.[1] and the Barākar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A.D.[2] The *akṣara śrī* has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel *u* in *su* (line 4) is written like subscript *va* as was usual in the late Gauḍīya and early Bengali-Maithilī alphabets.[3] The language of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of *kṛta* (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for orthography, *kha* is represented by *ṣa* according to its pronunciation in Maithilī and some other dialects of Bihar.

The date of the record as quoted in line 1 is *Sana* 960 *Sāmata* 1610 in which San 960 undoubtedly refers to the Hijrī year 960 while Sāmata (a modification of *Saṁvat*) 1610 refers to the year 1610 of the Vikrama era. The year in question corresponds to 1553 A.D. There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, *Pātisāha śrī-śrī*-Esalema Sāha is mentioned in lines 2-3 and *Mehitū śrī*-Rupapa-khojā in lines 3-4. *Pātisāha* (i.e. *Pādshāh* or *Bādshāh*, 'an emperor') Esalema Sāha is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor Islām Shāh (1545-56 A.D.), son of Sher Shāh of the Sūr dynasty. The designation *Mehitū* seems to be associated with *Mehtā* derived from the official designation *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* or *Mahattama* found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as 'the village headman' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was Islām Shāh and the head of the village or the village council was *Khwāja* Rupap. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghoṣikuṇḍī record under study.[4] It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word *śrī* occurs twice as prefix to the

1. See above, No. 6; also *Journ. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16 and Plate.
2. See *Journ. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, Letters, Vol. II, pp. 21ff and Plates.
3. Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXX, p. 52, note 1.
4. See, e.g., *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1ff; Vol. XXXI, 331, No. 3, text lines 2-5; etc.

name of Islām Shāh, a single *śrī* has been considered sufficient for the name of *Khwāja* Rupap. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single *śrī*.

The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads *śrī-Nasurudhi vadhā kupi kṛtā* apparently meaning that a person named Nasurudhi (i.e. Nāsiruddīn) made a *kūpī* (i.e. *kūpa* or well) which was *bandhā* (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The *kūpī* or well referred to in the record must be the well, in the wall of which the inscription has been found.

There is no geographical name in the Ghoṣikuṇḍī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

TEXT[1]

1 Sana 960 Sāmata 1610
2 Pātisāha śrī-śrī-Esa-
3 lema-sāha Mehitū[2] śrī-
4 Rupapa-ṣo(kho)jā // śrī·[Na]su-
5 rudhi va(baṁ)dhā [kupi] kṛtā (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) सन ९६० सामत १६१० (२) पातिसाह श्री-श्री-एस(३)लेमसाह मेहितू श्री(४)रुपपषो(खो)जा ॥ श्री-[न]सु(५)रुधि व(बं)धा [कुपि] कृता (॥*)

No. 8. Śrīkuṇḍ Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1503 (1581 A.D.)

Sometime ago, I received impressions of a small stone inscription from the Curator of the Paṭnā Museum, and the Chief Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India. The Curator reported that the inscribed stone slab was found in the bed of the Gumālā river in the village of Śrīkuṇḍ under the Kak Jola Post Office in the Santal Parganas District. It seems that 'Kak Jola' is the same as Kankjol (ancient Kajaṅgala) near Rājmahāl. The inscribed stone was presented to the Paṭnā Museum by Śrī Līlādhar Prasād Bhagat of the said village. It is reported that the stone was lying in Śrī Bhagat's house for the last 30 or 40 years.

The inscription contains only three lines in the Bengali characters of the 17th century, incised within a border, and covers an area about

1. From impressions.
2. What has been read as *tū* may be *kta* also. But that does not offer any sense.

twenty-three inches in length and nine inches in height. Of palaeographical interest are the forms of the letter *śa* which is of the Bengali type, as is expected, and of the cursive sign of medial *ū* in the word *śūnya* in line 1. The inscription is dated in the Śaka year counted by the words *vahni* (fire, i.e. 3), *śūnya* (i.e. 0) and *tithi* (i.e. 15), that is to say, Śaka 1503 according to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*. The Śaka year 1503 corresponds to 1581-82 A.D.[1]

There is only one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre which constitutes the inscription and, at the beginning, it has the well-known auspicious symbol variously pronounced as *siddham*, *Oṁ siddhiḥ* or *siddhir=astu*. It resembles the Bengali figure 7. A variant form of the same sign, called *āñji* in the central and eastern regions of late medieval Bengal, was formerly written at the beginning of the alphabet by young learners.

The one-stanza inscription states that, in the Śaka year 1503 (1581-82 A.D.), the compassionate Govindaśarman made something for the *tamo-nutti* of Rāmacandraśrī. Unfortunately, the real purpose of the record is not quite clear. In the first place, it is difficult to say whether the thing made by the Brāhmaṇa Govinda was a structure to which the inscribed stone was embedded, because, in that case, the expected expression would probably be *kārita* and not *kṛta* as used in the record.

Secondly, the name of the person, for whose sake the Brāhmaṇa did something, seems to have been *Rāmacandra*, *Rāmacandra-śrī* being probably written to indicate *Śrī-Rāmacandra* just as we have both *śrī-Khāravela* and *Khāravela-śrī* in lines 1 and 17 of the ancient Hāthigumphā inscription.

Thirdly, in the expression *tamo-nutti* (i.e. removal of *tamas*), the word *tamas* is ambiguous, though it appears to have been used in the epigraph in the sense of 'sin'. It is thus probable that Rāmacandra committed some sin, for the expiation of which his priest or preceptor Govindaśarman made or did something out of compassion for him and that the inscription was raised as the label to a structure or to perpetuate the memory of the event.

The two persons mentioned in the inscription, viz. Govindaśarman and Rāmacandra, are of course not known to us. Local enquiry may find out whether there are persons, in the Śrīkuṇḍ area, claiming descent from either of them.

1. Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., pp. 214, 219.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.]
Vahni-śūnya-tithi-mite Śāke
2 Govindaśarmaṇā /
sa-kṛpeṇa ta-
3 mo-nuttyai Rāmacandraśriyaḥ kṛtaḥ (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ९ वह्नि-शून्य-तिथि-मिते शाके (२) गोविन्दशर्मणा ।
स-कृपेण त(३)मो-नुत्यै रामचन्द्रश्रियः कृतः (।*)

No. 9. Mandār Hill Inscription of Chatrapati, Śaka 1521 (1599-1600 A.D.)

The Mandār or Mandara-giri, described in the Purāṇas as situated on the Vindhyas to the south of the Gaṅgā,[2] is an isolated hill about 700 feet in height and lying nearly seven miles to the south of Baṅkā, headquarters of a Sub-Division of that name in the Bhagalpur District. It is about thirty miles to the south of Bhāgalpur and about three miles from the terminus of the Bhāgalpur-Mandār Hill Branch of the Eastern Railway.

There are two temples of the Jains on the top of the Mandār hill and a ruined temple of Viṣṇu on a lower bluff on the western side of the peak. To the west of the Viṣṇu temple, there is an excavated cave containing the image of Narasiṁha carved on the rock and a cavity which contains a spring-water pool, known as the Ākāśa-gaṅgā, as also huge images of the god Vāmana and the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Besides the remains of many structures on the hill, there are extensive ruins of temples, etc., on the eastern slope and at the foot of the hill. The antiquities are traditionally ascribed to the Cola Rājās, especially to Rājā Chatra Sen or Chatar Singh.[3] At the foot of the hill, there is the Pāpahāriṇī tank which is known from two inscriptions to have been excavated in the latter half of the seventh

1. From impressions.
2. See *Varāha Purāṇa*, Chapter 143.
3. For the antiquities, etc., on the Mandār Hill, see *The Journal* of Francis Buchanan kept during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11, ed. C.A.E.W. Oldham, 1930, p. 20; Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, 1838, pp. 61-62; W. Francklin, *Inquiry Concerning the Site of Ancient Palibothra*, Part II, pp. 14-16; W.S. Sherwill in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XX, 1851, p. 272; T. Bloch in *An. Rep. Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, pp. 8-9; N.L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.

century A.D. by the queen of the Later Gupta king Ādityasena of Magadha.[1]

There is an inscription in a *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill, which is referred to by many authors including Buchanan-Hamilton, whose *Journal* was written in 1810-11, and Martin whose work appeared in 1838. It records the construction of a *maṭha* for the god Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) in Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.) by Chatrapati who was the seventh ancestor of the Zamindār of Mandār, whom Buchanan-Hamilton and Martin appear to have contacted in the first half of the nineteenth century. The god Madhusūdana-Viṣṇu is said to have been originally worshipped in a temple on the top of the hill; but "Chatrapati Rāy, Zamindār of Mandār . . . removed the image to a small brick temple (*dālān*), now in ruins, and placed [it] at the foot of the hill. Near this, he built a Maṭh to which the image is carried on the festival [days] and which, according to an inscription, he erected in the year of the Śaka 1521 (1589 A.D)."[2]

The inscription is written in five lines in the Bengali-Maithilī characters of the late medieval period. The *akṣara ra* is of the modern Assamese type. The record begins with a symbol for *siddham* (*Oṁ siddhiḥ* or *siddhir=astu*) and consists of a single stanza in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre with the date in figures at the end. The four feet of the verse are engraved in lines 1-4 each foot occupying one line. The *akṣara śrī* has a symbolical form as in many other East Indian records of the late medieval age.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, though the style of the composition is poor. There are also some errors of language. The date, viz. Śaka 1521, is given in words in the first foot of the stanza in line 1 (in accordance with the *vāma-gati* principle) and in figures in line 5. The year corresponds to 1599-1600 A.D.

The verse in question states that, in the Śaka year counted by *Candra* (i.e. 1), *pakṣa* (i.e. 2), *Manoja-bāṇa* (the Indian Cupid's arrows, i.e. 5) and *dharaṇī* (i.e. 1), Chatrapati, son of Vāsudeva, made the *vijay-āgāra* of Madhusūdana through the Brāhmaṇa priest named Duḥśāsana. The *vijay-āgāra* of Madhusūdana built by Chatrapati, as indicated above, is the *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill.

1. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212.
2. Martin, *loc. cit.*, cf. Oldham, *loc. cit.*; Śaka 1521 really corresponds to 1599-1600 A.D. and not to 1589 A.D.

It is not known whether this Chatrapati claimed any relationship with the traditional Chatrasena or Chatrasiṁha of the family of the Cola Rājās and whether this Cola family migrated to Bihar directly from Tamil Nad or was an offshoot of the Telugu-Coḍa dynasty of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.[1] Considering, however, the South Indian association of the locality, it is not improbable that the word *vijaya* in the expression *vijay-āgāra* (literally, 'the victorious home') means 'stay' (Sanskrit *avasthāna*) and not 'victory' as in Sanskrit.[2]

TEXT[3]

1 [Symbol.] Candraḥ[4]-pakṣa-Manojavā(bā)ṇa-dharaṇ=īty=aṅkāṅ-kite vatsare

2 Śāke puṇya-mahītale dvijavare(rair)=Duḥśāsanai(ḥ*) pūjakai-[5] (ḥ*) /

3 cakre śrī-Madhusūdanasya vijay-āgāraṁ varaṁ nirmmalaṁ

4 śrīmac-Chatrapatiḥ sadā-śubha-matiḥ śrī-Vāsudev-ātmajaḥ / (//)

5 Śāke 1521 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ५ चन्द्रः(न्द्र)-पक्ष(द्वन्द्व)-मनोजवा(बा)ण-धरणीत्यङ्काङ्किते वत्सरे

(२) शाके पुण्य-महीतले द्विजवरे(रैर्) दुःशासनै(ः*) पूजकै(*)

(३) चक्रे श्री-मधुसूदनस्य विजयागारं वरं निर्म्मलं

(४) श्रीमच्छत्रपतिः सदा-शुभ-मतिः श्री-वासुदेवात्मजः । (॥)

(५) शाके १५२१ (॥*)

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 286ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 304. Since the image of the god was carried to the *maṭha* on festival days, *vijaya* here may also mean 'going in a procession' as in the Kannaḍa records (*ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 223, note 6; Vol. VI, p. 51, note 5).
3. From photographs and impressions of the inscription which is noticed in *An. Rep. Ind. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B260.
4. Correctly *candra* which does not suit the metre of the stanza in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Better read *dvandva* for *pakṣa*.
5. The upper limb of the sign for medial *ai* is wrongly put on *ja* instead of *ka*. The plural number is used in respect of the priest to indicate *gaurava*.

Chapter Four

ORISSA

No. 1. Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III, Aṅka 34 (1239 A.D.)

In an interesting article entitled 'Chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa', published three quarters of a century ago,[1] M.M. Chakravarti noticed some inscriptions on the walls of the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), which were ascribed by him to the Gaṅga monarchs Anaṅgabhīma II (c. 1190-98 A.D.) or Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1212-39 A.D.). About forty years ago, I had an opportunity to examine the impressions of three of these records.[2] One of these three inscriptions is incised 'on the south jamb of the porch' of the temple. Chakravarti assigned it to Anaṅgabhīma III as he read the following passage in lines 1-4: *Rājarāja-tunuja-Anaṅga-Bhīma-vīra . . . rājasya sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-samvatsare*; but it belongs to Gaṅga Vīra-Narakesarin (Narasiṁha I) and the passage in question really reads: *Rājarāja-tanuj-ātmajasya . . . Vīra-Narakesari-dhar-ādhipasya*[3] *. . . sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-samva(saṁva)tsare*. The second inscription, engraved on the same jamb, was ascribed by Chakravarti to the fourth regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma II and the following passage

1. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, pp. 97-147.
2. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, 1936, pp. 122-25; cf. Vol. VI, 1939, pp. 71-73, 73-76. See also *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXIII, 19 7, pp. 101ff, and below. Cf. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 118, No. 1; p. 115, No. 2; p 118, No. 3.
3. The facsimile of the inscription published in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, suggested the reading *Vīravarakesari°*; but another impression of the record which appeared in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ.*, Vol. I, No. 4, Plate 53, shows that the correct form of the name is Vīra-Narakesarin, identified by S.N. Das with Gaṅga Narasiṁha I (*op. cit.*, pp. 301ff). A few impressions of the epigraph, preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India support this reading.

was read by him in lines 1-4: *śrīmad-Aniyaṅka-Bhīmadevasya pravardhamāna Puruṣottama sombhāṅke* (? *catustimattame aṅke*; but the record actually reads *catustiṁ(striṁ)ma(śa)ttame aṅke* undoubtedly referring to the 34th Aṅka year or 28th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and *Puruṣottama sāmbhrā(mrā)jye* pointing to the fact that the said Gaṅga monarch considered himself a feudatory of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī, who was regarded by him as the real lord of the Gaṅga dominions. According to the usually accepted beginning of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III, suggested by Chakravarti himself, the date of the epigraph falls in 1238-39 A.D. The third inscription is a damaged record engraved 'on the north jamb of the porch'. Chakravarti assigned it to Anaṅgabhīma III and read in lines 2-5: *jayati sakala-varṇajan ālaṅkṛta rāja-śrī-Bhīmadev ābda . . . tṛtīyāye Guru vāre Magha-nakṣatre*, though the correct reading of the initial passage of the inscription is *Bhagavat-Puruṣottama-putra-catuḥsāgara-paryant-ādhipati-sakala-va(vṛ)ddha-janālaṅkṛta-Rāu(tta*)-śrī-Bhīmadev āvde(bde) trayoviṁśati-samva(saṁva)tsare Makara-kṛṣṇa-tṛtīyāyāṁ Guru-vāre Magha-nakṣatre*.[1] Thus the record is dated in the 23rd Aṅka or 19th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III described as the son of Lord Puruṣottama and as a *Rāutta* which is the title of a feudatory.

Later, I had the opportunity of examining another Liṅgarāja temple inscription noticed by Chakravarti,[2] with the help of impressions lying in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. This inscription is incised 'on the south jamb of the porch'. It covers a space of about 17 inches in length and 16½ inches in height. There are altogether 13 lines of writing. The characters employed are Gauḍīya and the language of the record is Sanskrit. Some influence of the local language is traceable in the language and orthography of the inscription.

Chakravarti read the following passage in lines 2-4: *śrīmad-Aniṅka-Bhīmadevasya pravarddhamāna-sāmrājye catusitāttame aṅke Makara-svekādaśi(śī)-Śukra-vāre*. As in the case of *catustimattame* (sic.—*catustiṁmattame* for *catustriṁśattame*) occurring in another record of the same place, noticed above, the expression *catusitāttame* has been interpreted by Chakravarti as the fourth Aṅka year and the record has been assigned to Anaṅgabhīma II. He calculated the date to correspond to the 15th January 1193 A.D. But there are several inaccuracies in Chakra-

1. *Ind Cult.*, Vol. VI, p 76; re-edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 232ff.
2. Chakravarti ; *op. cit.*, p. 115, No. 1.

varti's reading of the passage quoted above. The inscription actually reads *catusinsattame*, the reading intended being undoubtedly *catustriṁśattame*. Thus the thirty-fourth Aṅka year, i.e., the 28th actual regnal year, of a Gaṅga king named Anaṅgabhīma is referred to. The length of the reign makes it certain that the king is no other than Anaṅgabhīma III. As indicated above, the date of this record, like another of the same date reviewed by us, would fall in 1238-39 A.D. according to Chakravarti's suggestion regarding the beginning of this king's reign. Again, what has been read by Chakravarti as *Makara-svekādaśi(śī)-Śukravāre* is clearly *Makara-śuk[l]a-pañcami(mī)-Guruvāre*. The date of the inscription in question is thus Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Makara in 1238-39 A.D. The date seems to be Thursday, the 13th January 1239 A.D., although *śukla-pañcamī* actually ended on the previous day.

The epigraph records the grant of five *vāṭikās* of land situated in the villages of Tarallakṣmī and Sāgarapaṭīmā by Govinda-senāpati,[1] son of Gareā-senādhyakṣa. Govinda-senāpati, apparently an officer (*senāpati* or general) of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III, is stated to have conducted *jīrṇoddhāra* (repairs) of the *maṇḍapa* of the god *Bhagavat* Kīrtivāsas (Kṛttivāsa or Śiva), i.e. the deity worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. The deity is described as *Jagadīśvara*, 'the lord of the world'. Govinda-senāpati thus appears to have been a devotee of the god Śiva. The land was granted for making provision for sweeping the *maṇḍapa* thrice a day, white-washing its walls once a year and repairing the roof once in every twelve years. Of the five *vāṭikās* of land, two were allotted to the *kumbhakāra* (potter) for repairing the roof, two to the *cūrṇakāra* (lime-washer) for white-washing and one to the sweeper. The names of the reeipients of the grants (probably the priests of the temple) are not mentioned It is stated that the *maṇḍapa* was used for performing *parv-otsava* (festivals on auspicious days), *mah-otsava* (the great festivals, probably meaning the Śivarātri) and ceremonies such as marriage.

The most interesting feature of the inscription is that it describes the Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III as *Bhagavat* (line 2). The king was a staunch devotee of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha (Viṣṇu) of Purī. Thus the epithet *Bhagavat* applied to him by one of his Śaiva

1. A Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gotra*, named Govinda, was an officer of Anaṅgabhīma II according to verse 8 of the Cāṭeśvara temple inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 126). He seems to be a different person.

officers appears to be significant. This shows that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was regarded by his subjects as a saint.[1] As we pointed out elsewhere,[2] this king, according to a tradition recorded in the *Mādalā Pāñjī*,[3] became a ruler of the *Rāuta* (feudatory, from Sanskrit *Rājaputra*) class after dedicating all his possessions (including the kingdom) in the god's favour (*e nagara-Kaṭake thāi śrī-Puruṣottama-śrī-Jagannātha-devaṅku samasta samarpi Rāuta-paṇe thāānti*).[4] The same work also says how from that time the Gaṅga kings did not enjoy formal coronation at the time of accession as the god was considered the ruler of the country (*rājā 2ṅka abhiṣeka na hele*; *Oḍiṣā-rājya-rajā śrī-Jagannātha-mahāprabhu emanta kahi abhiṣeka nohile*). We also showed[5] how Anaṅgabhīma III and his successors called themselves *Rāuta*, how Anaṅgabhīma's kingdom is referred to as *Puruṣottama-sāmrājya* (i.e., the empire belonging to the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha) and how in some records of Bhānu II (c. 1305-27 A.D), great-great-grandson of Anaṅgabhīma III, the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha is mentioned as his overlord. The fact that the present Mahārājās of Purī, who are modern representatives of the medieval imperial rulers of Orissa, consider themselves servants of the god Puruṣottama-Jagannātha of Purī no doubt shows the continuity of the custom first introduced by Anaṅgabhīma III by dedicating his kingdom to the god.

It is necessary in this connection to consider certain suggestions first offered by N. Venkataramanayya[6] and later reiterated by T.V. Mahalingam.[7] Our attention is drawn to the Śrīraṅgam inscription[8] of the ninth regnal year of Māravarman Sundara-pāṇḍya (who ascended the throne in 1216 A.D.), according to which the temple managers colluded with the *Oṭṭar* to the detriment of the income of the temple,

1. There are some records speaking of the Śaiva leanings of Anaṅgabhīma III and his son Narasiṁha I. See Sircar, *Stud., Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p 64, note 4; *Ep. Ind* , Vol. XXXIII, pp. 43, 126-27.
2 *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 48-49.
3. Ed. A.B. Mahanti, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 26-27.
4. One of the Pātāleśvara temple inscriptions gives its date in the passage—*śrī-Puruṣottamasya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājye Rāutta-śrīmad-Anaṅkabhīmadevasya srāhī saṁ 29* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 201-02).
5. *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53.
6. *Bhārati*, Vol. XXII, 1945, February (pp. 161ff), June (pp. 541ff) and July (pp. 57ff).
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 95-96.
8. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 500.

as well as to the two inscriptions[1] incised, one in continuation of the other, on the west wall of the rock near the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Kāñcīpuram. The first of these two inscriptions is dated in the year 19 of the reign of Anantavarma-Rāhutadeva, Wednesday, Mīna-sudi Pañcamī, Revatī, and records the grant of the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in the Antarudra-viṣaya by Somaladevī-mahādevī for daily worship and offerings to the god. It also describes king Ananta-varma-Rāhuttarāya (probably the *Mahādevī's* husband) as belonging to the Gaṅga family and gives him a number of *virudas*. The donatrix is said to have been staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi (Vārāṇasī). The second inscription, written in continuation of the previous one, is dated in the twentieth regnal year of the Cola king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.), Monday, Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Aśvati (Aśvinī), probably corresponding to the 9th July, 1235 A.D. It records the gift of 128 cows and 4 bulls by Kaliṅgeśvara Aniyaṅkabhīmadeva Rāhutta (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III Rāuta) for four perpetual lamps in the temple. It is suggested that the Śrīraṅgam inscription points to the conquest of the Tamil country as far south as the Thanjavur-Tiruchirapalli region by the Oṭṭas, who are taken to be the same as the Oḍḍiyas or Oriyas, about 1224 A.D. and to the consequent 'dislocation in the temple worship at Śrīraṅgam'. The above contention is sought to be supported by the Kāñcīpuram inscriptions which are believed to prove the presence of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Rāhuttarāya *alias* Anantavarman,[2] together with his queen Somaladevī, at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī taken to be the same as Kāñcīpuram.

Now the above interpretation of the Śrīraṅgam and Kāñcīpuram inscriptions is open to several objections. In the first place, if the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III Anantavarman's conquests really extended as far as Thanjavur and Tiruchirapalli in the south and if he was present

1. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXX, pp. 94ff. These two records of different dates were engraved at the same time by the same person sometime after the grants (recorded in them) had been made. Cf. the case of the Bhubaneswar inscriptions of Rāghava (*ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 159).
2. Inscriptions show that most of the successors of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed *Anantavarman* as a secondary name. See *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34 for Kāmārṇava; Nos. 1330-31, 1336, 1340-41 for Rāghava; Nos. 1270, 1329 for Rājarāja II; Nos. 1273, 1317 for Rājarāja III; Nos. 1283, 1290 for Anaṅgabhīma III; Nos. 1272, 1291 for Narasiṁha I; No. 1151 and *ibid.*, Vol. VI Nos. 928, 941, 957, 982, 1118, 1140 for Narasiṁha II; Vol VI, Nos. 1000, 1002 for Bhānu II.

in that connection at Kāñcīpuram, the second Kāñcīpuram inscription must have been dated in his own reckoning and certainly not in that of the Cola king Rājarāja III. The dating of this inscription shows beyond doubt that the acknowledged king of the area including Kāñcīpuram was the Cola monarch and not the Gaṅga emperor. Secondly, as indicated above, Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III was a saintly Vaiṣṇava, so much so that even one of his Śaiva officers mentioned him as *Bhagavat*. It is therefore impossible to believe that, when he was himself present in the Tamil country, there could have been dislocation in the worship at the Śrīraṅgam temple which is one of the greatest Vaiṣṇava shrines renowned throughout India. Thirdly, Venkatasubba Ayyar seems to be right in taking the word *Oṭṭar* occurring in the Śrīraṅgam inscription to mean 'those who have undertaken to do a thing or given an agreement [to the temple]' and in suggesting that it does not stand for the Oḍḍas (Oriyas).[1] There seems therefore to be no reference to a confusion caused by a foreign invasion in the Śrīraṅgam inscription.[2] Fourthly, if it is believed that the Gaṅga king conquered the Tamil country before 1225 A.D. and was holding the Kāñcīpuram region about 1230 A.D. in spite of his loss of the Śrīraṅgam area five years earlier, he must have occupied parts of that country for a considerable period of time. Under the circumstances, the silence of his court poet who composed the stanzas dealing with his achievements in regard to this spectacular success becomes inexplicable. The verses in question are quoted in Anaṅgabhīma's own Nagarī plates[3] of 1230-31 A.D. as well as in the charters[4] of his successors. Fifthly, the evidence of the Nagarī plates clearly shows that the year 1230 A.D. was passed by Anaṅgabhīma III in his capital and its vicinity.[5] It is impossible to believe that he could have led an expedition against the Tamil land, about one thousand miles away, in the neighbourhood of that year.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 193, note 4.
2. Even if the word *Oṭṭar* is taken in the sense of the Oriyas, their presence at Śrīraṅgam should better be explained in a different way especially in view of the fact that the date of the Śrīraṅgam inscription is considerably earlier than those of the Kāñcīpuram inscriptions. It is difficult to believe that the Oriyas were ousted from Śrīraṅgam by 1225 A.D. but were holding Kāñcīpuram as late as 1230 A.D.
3. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235ff (verses 72-80).
4. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, pp. 248-49 (verses 72-80), etc.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-46.

But the most serious error in the consideration of the Kāñcīpuram inscriptions seems to be the identification of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, where the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma (actually, the donatrix Somaladevī) is said to have been stationed, with Kāñcīpuram. It is well known from the Nagarī plates[1] of Anaṅgabhīma III that he had his capital at Vārāṇasī, Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which is the same as modern Cuttack on the Mahānadī in Orissa. It should be pointed out that there are several Vārāṇasīs in different parts of India; but Cuttack seems to be the only Vārāṇasī with the word *abhinava* prefixed to it. We know that the Gaṅgas originally had their capital at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam); but, in a later period, sometimes after the twelfth century A.D., they made Cuttack their capital although their first capital in Orissa after the conquest of the country was Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Yājapura or Jājpur.[2] Vārāṇasī kaṭaka or Cuttack is mentioned as the Gaṅga capital not only in the above grant of Anaṅgabhīma III but also in the records of his successors.[3] The Muslim historians who have described Sultān Fīrūz Shāh's expedition against the kingdom of Jājnagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) in c. 1360 A.D. during the reign of Gaṅga Bhānu III (c. 1352-78 A.D.) mention the same city on the river Mahānadī as Banārasī (i.e. Vārāṇasī).[4] The *Mādalā Pāñjī*[5] states that Anaṅgabhīma, who dedicated his kingdom to Puruṣottama-Jagannātha, lived at Caudvārakaṭaka on the Mahānadī, while his younger brother and successor, also called Anaṅgabhīma, transferred his residence from Caudvārakaṭaka to Vāṇarāśī(Vārāṇasī)-kaṭaka, a city built by him at the site of a village called Vāravāṭi (in the Kodiṇḍā-daṇḍapāṭa) on the other (i.e. southern) bank of the Mahānadī. The evidence of the Nagarī plates, coupled with that of the confused tradition of the *Mādalā Pāñjī*, however, suggests that it was Anaṅgabhīma III who was the builder

1. *Ibid.*, p. 256, text lines 123ff.
2. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 71; also pp. 179ff.
3. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1122, 1125; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1069, etc. The city is mentioned in numerous other records. See *SII*, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 708, 722, 756, 792, 801, 808, 851, 856, 918, 958-60, 1003, 1023, 1041, 1045, 1051, 1079, 1083, 1089, 1096, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1119-20, 1135, etc.
4. See Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 491. For the celebrity enjoyed by Cuttack Banāras during the Mughal period, see Jerrett and Sarkar, *'Ain-i-Akbarī* (trans.), Vol. II, p. 316, note 2.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

of the new capital city called Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka. The correct interpretation of the Kāñcīpuram inscriptions seems to be that the Gaṅga queen Somaladevī made a grant in favour of a Vaiṣṇava shrine at Kāñcīpuram while she was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī (i.e. Cuttack) which was her husband's capital. Making grants *in absentia* in favour of religious establishments is not unknown in Indian epigraphy. Thus an inscription[1] in the Simhachalam temple in the Visakhapatnam District records a grant made in its favour by Tallamādevī, queen of Gaṅga Bhānu IV, when she was herself staying at Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka which is the same as Abhinava-Vārāṇasī of Somaladevī's record. The village of Uḍaiyakāmam or Udayakāma was no doubt situated in the queen's own *jāgīr* in her husband's dominions.[2] The mention of the Gaṅga king's regnal reckoning in dating Somaladevī's record appears to be due to the fact that it was drafted at the Gaṅga capital.[3] The grant of Anaṅgabhīma III in favour of the Kāñcīpuram temple was apparently made similarly *in absentia*.[4] It will be seen from the above discussion that there is hardly any proof in favour of the suggestions that the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III was for a time stationed at Kāñcī together with his queen Somaladevī and that he conquered the Tamil country as far as the Thanjavur-Tiruchirapalli region in the south.

1. *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 1067.
2. The Antarudra *viṣaya*, in which the village granted by Somaladevī was situated, is mentioned in the Chaurasi plate of the Bhauma-Kara king Śivakara II and has been identified with modern Antarodha Pargana in the Sadar Subdivision of the Puri District of Orissa (Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 8). There are other instances of similar grants. No. 154 of *SII*, Vol. XI (Part ii, pp. 192ff) registers the gift of the village of Kanakapura in Kundur-500 (Dharwar District) for burning incense in the temple of Somanāthadeva of the Saurāṣṭra *viṣaya* (Kathiawar) by *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Jayakeśideva, at the time of his marriage, under the direction of his father-in-law and overlord, Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). See also Appendix below.
3. There are many inscriptions in temples like those at Simhachalam and Śrīkūrmam, which are big *praśastis*. These were apparently not composed on the spot but were carried by the donors with the intention of engraving them in the temples after having made the donations desired.
4. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 428 of 1908 registers a gift of land made in favour of the god at Jambukeśvaram (Tiruchirapalli District) by Jākhadevī, queen of *Rāhuta* Jājaladeva, son of Bhīmadeva of the Saubhāna (Cauhān) *kula*. *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 29 of 1908 is a Gāhaḍavāla record of 1110-11 A.D. which was found in the temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram in the same district (*An. Rep. S. Ind. Ep.*, 1908, Part II, p. 65).

The inscription under discussion mentions two villages, viz. Tarallakṣmī and Sāgarapaṭīmā which were the subject of the grant made by Govinda, a general of the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III. The exact situation of the villages is not mentioned in the record, and it is difficult to locate them.

TEXT[1]

1 [Siddham.][2] Svasti [//*] Proddhata-hetivāhi-dhvānta-dhansi-[3]
dyu-tijyamāna-dainya-jaladhī(dhi)-

2 nimagna-di(dī)n-ānātha-śaraṇ-aika-taraṇer=bhagavataḥ śrīmad-
Ani(ya*)ṅkabhīma-

3 devasya prava(r*)ddhamāna-sāmrājye catusinsattame[4] Aṅke
Makara-

4 śuk[la]-pañcami(mī)-Guru-vāre śrīmad-akalaṅka-s[u]dhā-dhavala-
kalāni-

5 dhi-kalā-kā(ka)lita-mauler=bhabha(ga)vato jagad-īsva(śva)rasya
Kīrttivā-

6 saso[5] devasya parvvotsarvva(va)-mahotsava-vivāh-ādy-utsv-opaja-
(yu)-

7 kta-pratiniyata-maṇḍapasya prati-dvādaś-āvdī(bdī)y-ācchādan-
ārthaṁ

8 kumbhakārāya dve vāṭike praty-avdī(bdī)ya cūrṇṇ-āvalepan-ā(r*)-
thaṁ

9 c[ū]rṇṇakārāya dve anudinaṁ vāra-traya-sammājaṁ(rja)n-ā(r*)-
thaṁ[6] me-

10 ke Tarallakṣmī-Sāgarapaṭīmā-grāmīthaṁ(ya)-pañca-vāṭyaḥ

11 Gareā-senā[7]-adhyakṣa-s(u*)p[u]tr(e*)na jīrṇṇ-oddhāra-ka(r*)trā
Go-[8]

1. From impressions.
2. Expressed by symbol.
3. Read *dhvaṁsi*°.
4. Read *catustriṁśattame*.
5. Better read *Kṛttivāsadevasya*.
6. Read °*rtham=ekā*.
7. Read *sen-ādhyakṣa*. The rule of *Sandhi* has been neglected here.
8. There appear to be traces of a superfluous *vi* after this *akṣara*.

12 vinda-s(e*)nāpatinā pradata(ttā) ata āsām = apaharaṇaṁ yaḥ karo-
13 ti bha(ṁ*)g[1]-ādhikārī nu(nū)naṁ sa bhavataṁta[2] (/*) dāta(tā) sa-(su)khī bhavatu //o/

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ० स्वस्ति (।।*) प्रोद्धत-हेतिवाहि-ध्वान्त-ध्वन्सि(ध्वंसि)-द्यु-तिज्यमान-दैन्य-जलधी (धि)-
(२) निमग्न-दि(दी)नानाथ-शरणैक-तरणेर्भगवत: श्रीमदनि(य*)ङ्कभीम-
(३) देवस्य प्रवद्ध(र्द्ध)मान-साम्राज्ये चतुसिन्स(स्त्रिंश)त्तमे अङ्के मकर-
(४) शु[क्ल]-पञ्चमि(मी)-गुरु-वारे श्रीमदकलङ्क-[सु]धा-धवल कलानि-
(५) धि-कला-का(क)लित-मौलेर्भभ(ग)वतो जगदीस्व(श्व)रस्य कीर्तिवा-
(६) ससो(कृत्तिवास)-देवस्य पर्व्वोत्सर्व्व(व)-महोत्सव-विवाहाद्युत्सवोपज(यु)-
(७) क्त-प्रतिनियत-मण्डपस्य प्रतिद्वादशाद्वी(ब्दी)याच्छादनार्थं
(८) कुम्भकाराय द्वे वाटिके प्रत्यद्वी(ब्दी)य-चूर्ण्णविलेपनार्थं(र्थं)
(९) चूर्ण्णकाराय द्वे अनुदिनं वार-त्रय सम्माजं(र्ज)नार्थं(र्थ)मे-
(१०) के(का) तरल्लक्ष्मी-सागरपटीमा-ग्रामीथं(य)-पञ्च-वाट्य:
(११) गरेआ-सेनाअ(ना)ध्यक्ष-स(सु)[पु]त्र(त्रे)ण जीर्ण्णोद्धार-कत्रा(त्रा) गो-
(१२) विन्द-स(से)नापतिना प्रदत(त्ता) अत आसामपहरणं यः करो-
(१३) ति भ(भं)गाधिकारी नु(नू)नं स भवतंत(तात् ।) दात(ता) स(सु)खी भवतु ॥०।

No. 2. Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Vīra-Narakesarin (Narasiṁha I), Year 4 (c. 1241 A.D.)

The inscription, which is incised on a wall inside the Liṅgarāja temple, was noticed by M.M. Chakravarti.[3] He transcribed only the date portion of the record; but his reading contains errors.[4] Our transcript of the epigraph was published originally in 1936;[5] but we re-edited the inscription in 1955.[6]

The record consists of nine lines, the first eight of which are about 17 inches in length, while the ninth is about 13½ inches. The

1. The word *bhaṅga* may mean here 'ruin', 'downfall', 'destruction', 'defeat', 'discomfiture', 'humiliation', 'paralysis', etc.
2. Read *bhavatāt* /
3. *Journl. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LXII, 1903, p. 118.
4. See above, p. 59. M. Chakravarti reads the passage in lines 1-3 as *Rājarājatanuj-Ānaṅgabhīma-vīra . . . rājasya sāmrājy ābhiṣeka-caturtha-samvatsare* and attributed the record to Anaṅgabhīma II. See *loc. cit.*, No. 1; see also Bhandarkar's List, No. 2069; Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 478.
5. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 124-25.
6. *Ind. Hist. Quart*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81ff. See also the transcript published by Das in *Or. Hist. Res. Journ*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 301ff. The history of the decipherment of the inscription shows how difficult it is to read even a late inscription.

nine lines together cover a space 6 inches in breadth. The letters are about ½ inch both in height and in breadth. The record is damaged in many places.

The alphabet is remarkably similar to that of other records of the time of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I whose first regnal year falls in Śaka 1161-62 current (about 1239 A.D.). It is the Gauḍīya script which Bühler called Proto-Bengali. The top *mātrā* joined with the letters make them look like hook-headed and this kind of top *mātrā* is often called 'the Nepalese hook' without noticing that it was, at one stage, prevalent in the entire area covered by the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. The style is ornate; cf. the use of *śaśi-kalā-śekhara-śiraḥ-srotasvatī* (lines 3-4) to indicate the sacred river Ganges, and *Kāyastha-kula-kamalinī-kumuda-bandhu* to indicate a member of the Kāyastha community. An interesting feature of the language is that it exhibits some influence of the local dialect. The word *sodara* (line 4) has been used in its Oriya sense of 'equal' while the Oriya word *manohi*, meaning *naivedya*, has been used in its Sanskrit garb as *manohita* (line 8).

The inscription begins with the *siddham* (*Oṁ siddhiḥ* or *siddhir= astu*) symbol and the auspicious word *svasti* which are followed by the date of the record in lines 1-3. It is the fourth year of the sovereignty of king Vīra-Narakesarin who was the grandson (*tanuj-āṅgaja*) of Rāja-rāja. There cannot be any doubt that king Vīra-Narakesarin is the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha I (c. 1339-65 A.D.). Gaṅga Narasiṁha I was the son of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1212-39 A.D.) and the grandson of Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1212 A.D.). There is an epithet, which seems to be meant for Rājarāja and not for his grandson Vīra-Narakesarin, saying that the king's sword caused terror to the dominions as well as to the generals, elephant force and cavalry of Gaṇapati. This Gaṇapati is apparently the same as the homonymous Kākatīya king who ruled in 1199-1266 A.D. Whether *sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha saṁvatsara* indicates the fourth regnal year of Narasiṁha I or his fourth Aṅka year corresponding to his third regnal year is difficult to determine. But, considering the popularity of the Aṅka reckoning in Orissa during the age of Narasiṁha I, the second alternative seems to be more probable, so that the record may be regarded as dated in the king's third regnal year corresponding to about 1241 A.D.

Lines 3-6 speak of the person who was responsible for the pious

deed recorded in the inscription. His name was Manomānasa who appears to have been the resident of a locality called Ḳalasī. Manomānasa belonged to the Kāyastha community and was devoted to the god Vyomakeśa or Śiva. The remaining portion of the inscription (lines 6-9) describes a grant of land made by Manomānasa in favour of the two deities, lord Kīrttivāsa (Kṛttivāsa) and Siddha-Lambodara. This Kṛttivāsa is no other than the Śiva-liṅga worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple, on the wall of which the inscription is incised. The gift consisted of five *vāṭikās* or *vāṭīs* and five *mānas* of land in the villages of Citrā and Gaḍisagopa situated in the *viṣaya* or district of Kalambora. Twenty *mānas* make one *vāṭī* of land and one *māna* is now regarded as equal to one acre in Orissa. The object of the grant was the following: (1) performance of the daily worship of the said gods thirty times on the thirty days of the month with fifteen scented flowers on each occasion; (2) the daily supply of *manohita* (i.e. *naivedya*) together with *dadhi*, *ghṛta* and *vyañjana*; (3) the supply of a lakh of *puṣparāja-nīlotpala* during the autumn season of every year; and (4) the supply of betel leaves. It seems that *nīlotpala* or the blue lotus has been called *puṣparāja* (the best of flowers) in the inscription. The word *puṣparāja* usually means topaz (*puṣparāga*); but that meaning does not appear to suit the context. It should be noted that the inscription does not record any royal grant of a rent-free holding, its taxes being payable to the state by the donor.

There are three geographical names in the inscription. They are the district of Kalambora and the villages of Citrā and Gaḍisagopa. The same district is also mentioned in other inscriptions in the Liṅgarāja temple.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.] Svasti (/*) sva-kara-karvāla-kampita-Gaṇapati-bhu-(bhū)-senāpati-gaja-vāji-samāja-Rājarāja-tanuj-āṅgaja-

2 sya Marīcī(ci)-Parāśar-ācāra-vicāra-catura-Vīra-Narakesari-dharādhipasya āpan-namra-paripanthi-pṛthvīpati-kirī-

3 ṭa-koṭi-maṇi-ghṛṇi-śreṇibhir=aruṇita-pada-sarojasya sāmrājy-ābhiṣeka-caturtha-samvatsare[2] śaśi-ka-

1. From impressions.
2. Read *saṁvatsare*.

4 la(lā)śekhara-śiraḥ-srotasvatī-nīra-sodara[1]-nirmala cetasā-saṁsāra
sāgar-ottāra-taraṇī-pratima-Vyomakeśa-
5 pada-kuśeśaya-sevā-mukharīkṛta-mānasena Kāyastha-kula-kama-
linī-kumudava(ba)ndhunā deva-dvijendra-caraṇ-āmvu(mbu)-
6 ja-kānan-aika-haṁsa-svavavaś-ottansena[2] Kālasika-Manomāna-
sena[3] bhagavataḥ sānanda-vṛndāraka-vṛnda-vandita-pad-āra-
7 vindasya Kīrttivāsya[4] Sī(Si)ddha-Lamvo(mbo)darasya ca avyava-
krama[5]-pañcadaśa-surabhi-kusumakeṣu[6] triṁśat-sampadyamāna-
pu(pū)jā[7]-dadhi-
8 ghṛta-vyañjana-sahita-manohitāya[8] prati-śaradi puṣparāja-nīlot-
pala-lakṣāya tāmvu(mbū)lāya ca Kalamvo(mbo)ra-viṣaya-madhy-
9 apāti-Citrāgrāme Gaḍisagopagrāme ca pañca-mān-ādhika-bhu-
(bhū)mi-vāṭikā(ḥ*) pañc=ādāpayata iti śaṁ[9](//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ० स्वस्ति (।*) स्व-कर-करवाल कम्पित-गणपति-भु(भू)-सेनापति-गज-वाजि-समाज-राजराज-
तनुजाङ्गज(२)स्य मरीची(चि)-पराशराचार-विचार-चतुर-वीर-नरकेसरि-धराधिपस्य
आपन्नम्र-परिपन्थि-पृथ्वीपति-किरी(३)ट-कोटि-मणि-घृणि-श्रेणिभिररुणित-पद-सरोजस्य
साम्राज्याभिषेक-चतुर्थ-सम्व(संव)त्सरे शशि-क(४)ल(ला)शेखर-शिरः-स्रोतस्वती-नीर-सोदर-
निर्मल-चेतसा संसार-सागरोत्तार-तरणी-प्रतिम-व्योमकेश-(५)पद-कुशेशय-सेवा-मुखरीकृत-
मानसेन कायस्थ-कुल-कमलिनी-कुमुद व(ब)न्धुना देव-द्विजेन्द्र-चरणाम्बु-(म्बु)(६)ज-
काननैक-हंस स्व-वव(वं)शोत्तन्से(त्तंसे)न कालसिक-मनोमानसेन भगवतः सानन्द-वृन्दारक-
वृन्द-वन्दित-पदार(७)विन्दस्य कीर्ति(कृत्ति)वा(स*)स्य सी(सि)द्धलम्वो(म्बो)दरस्य च
अव्यवक्रम-पञ्चदश-सुरभि-कुसुमकेषु(कैः) त्रिंशत्सम्पद्यमान-पु(पू)जा(यै*) दधि-
(८) घृत-व्यञ्जन-सहित-मनोहिताय प्रतिशरदि पुष्पराज-नीलोत्पल-लक्षाय ताम्बु(म्बू)लाय च
कलम्वो(म्बो)र-विषय-मध्य(९)पाति-चित्रा-ग्रामे गडिसगोप-ग्रामे च पञ्चमानाधिक-भु(भू)-
मि-वाटिका(:*) पञ्चादापयत(दात्) इति शं(शम् ॥)

1. This word has been used in its Oriya sense of *sadṛśa*, 'equal', as we have pointed out.
2. Read *sva-vaṁś-ottaṁsena*.
3. Manomānasa is apparently the name of the person whose pious activity is the subject of the record. Kālasika seems to mean that the said person was an inhabitant of a locality called Kalasī.
4. The intended reading is *Kīrttivāsasya* (*Kṛttivāsasya*), i.e. *Kṛittivāsāya*.
5. Better avoid *Sandhi* and read *a-vyavakrameṇa*.
6. Read *kusumakaiḥ*.
7. Better avoid *Sandhi* and read *pujāyai*.
8. This is the Sanskritized form of Oriya *manohi*, i.e. *naivedya*, as we have seen.
9. Read *adād=iti śam*. In place of *śam*, the expression *maṅgalamahāśrīḥ* is noticed in the records of some parts of the country.

No. 3. Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Narasiṁha I, Śaka 1165 and Aṅka 5 (1243 A.D.)[1]

The record is written in five lines, each of which is about 18 inches in length. They cover a space of 3½ inches in breadth. The letters are about ½ inch, both in height and in breadth. There is a crack in the middle of the record, running from top to bottom, which has caused the effacement of two letters from each of the lines.

The alphabet is Gauḍīya. The letters *kha*, *ja*, *ta*, *ma*, *va* (or *ba*), etc., are almost modern Bengali. It is interesting to note that *anusvāra* has been expressed both by a small circle on the head of the letter, as in Nāgarī, as well as by a circle and an inclined bar, put at the right side of a letter, as in Bengali. In the inscription of Narasiṁha II discussed below, all *anusvāras* are of this second variety. The use of the *avagraha* or sign indicating the elision of the initial *a* in line 5 is interesting. *Va* and *ba* have not been distinguished.

The record is written in Sanskrit verse. It is dated in the 5th Aṅka year of Pratāpa-vīra-Narasiṁhadeva and in the Śaka year *śata-rudra* = 1100 + *ṣaṣṭi* = 60 + *viśikha* = 5, i.e. Śaka 1165. It is interesting to note that the *vāma-gati* principle has been ignored in the enumeration. The record is actually dated in the 4th regnal year (the first of the Aṅka year is to be omitted) of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha, who must be Narasiṁha I, son of Anaṅgabhīma III and grandson of Rājarāja III, which fell in the Śaka year 1165. The date is important inasmuch as it shows that this Narasiṁha's first regnal year fell in Śaka 1161-62, that is to say, about 1240 A.D. This necessitates a correction of the views of some scholars who place the date of this prince's accession about two years earlier.[2] It seems, however, that the Śaka year 1165 mentioned in the inscription is current and not the usual expired year. It may thus be equated with 1239 A.D. instead of 1240 A.D.

The inscription records the offer of a perpetual lamp (*akhaṇḍa-dīpa*) to the temple of the god Kīrttivāsa (Kṛttivāsa), made by a person named Kambali.

1. Our transcript of this inscription was originally published in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, p. 112, and it was revised in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 83-84. The difference between the two transcript sexhibits the difficult nature of palaeographical research to which reference has elsewhere been made above (p. 68, note 6).
2. *Journ. As. Soc.*, 1903, p. 117. As no inscriptions with both regnal years and Śaka dates were then available for the three successors of Rājarāja III, M.M.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.]
Śākāvde(bde) śata-rudra-ṣaṣṭhi(ṣṭi)-viśikhe pañc-āṅka-rājy-odaye
ta[sya śrī*]-Narasiṁhadeva-nṛpater=yasya pratāp-āgnayaḥ (/*)

2 pratyarthi-kṣitibhṛid-van-ā[laya)-sadāvāsaḥ(sāḥ) susañcāriṇo
vi[śva*]g=viśva-tale jayanti sahṛida[2] sv-ākrānta-ca[ṁ]ḍ-ā[ṁ]-
śavaḥ // 1[3]

3 — — —[4] kula-devāt=āsti caritaṁ yasy=ānamanya[ṁ][5] śriyaḥ
se — —[6] gṛhiṇī ∪ — na[7] sadanaṁ dharmme=pi yac-cetasi (/*)

4 so='yaṁ kīrtti-pavitra-mūrttir=anagha-jyotiḥ praroha(ḥ*) śriya-
[ḥ*]
-- — —[8] matir=epa(ṣa) dīpam=adadac=chrī-Kīrttivāsāya[9] saḥ //[10]

5 aṣṭānāṁ khalu māṭā(ḍhā)nāṅ=kalantara[11]-rasair=ayaṁ(yam) /
vaṁś-ānu[kra*]mato='khaṇḍa-dīpa-dāt=āsya Kumva(mba)liḥ //3[12]

Chakravarti took the reign periods of these kings as given in the Kendupaṭnā plates to be Aṅka years and calculated backwards from Śaka 1200-01, which is the first year of Narasiṁha II, the grandson of Narasiṁha I. According to his calculations, the latter reigned in Śaka 1160-86 (*ibid.*, p. 121) and his son Bhānu I in 1186-1200 (*ibid.*, pp. 124-25).

1. From impressions.
2. The reading is clear; but there seems to be an error here.
3. The metre of the stanza is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
4. The reading of the syllables is uncertain. May it be *n=āsty=evaṁ*?
5. The reading looks more like *anamanya-śriyaḥ.*
6. The two syllables are totally lost.
7. The reading seems to be *tatāna.*
8. The reading may be *saṁsevā,* of which the first syllable is damaged beyond recognition.
9. Read *Kṛttivāsāya.*
10. The metre of the verse is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
11. *Kalantara* is the Oriya modification of Sanskrit *kal-āntara* meaning 'interest'. The perpetual lamp dedicated by Kambali in favour of the god Kṛttivāsa (i.e. Śiva worshipped in his Liṅga form in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar) had to be maintained from the interest of the permanent endowment he created by depositing eight pieces of coin called Māḍha probably in the temple treasury.
12. The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭubh.*

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ७ शाकाब्दे(ब्दे) शत-रुद्र-यष्ठि(ष्टि)-विशिखे पञ्चाङ्क-राज्योदये
त[स्य श्री*]नरसिंहदेवनृपतेर्यस्य प्रतापाग्नयः (।*)
(२) प्रत्यर्थि-क्षितिभृद्वना[लय]-सदावासः(साः) सुसञ्चरिणो
वि[श्व*]ग्विश्व-तले जयन्ति सहृद (?) स्वाक्रान्त-चंडांशवः ॥?
(३)— — — कुल-देवतास्ति यस्यानम[न्यं] श्रियः
से— —गृहिणी ∪ — न सदनं धर्म्मे(ऽ*)पि यच्चेतसि(।*)
(४) सोऽयं कीर्त्ति-पवित्र-मूर्त्तिरनघ-ज्योतिः प्ररोह(:*) श्रिय (:*)
— — — मतिरेप(ष) दीपमददच्छ्री-कीर्त्ति(कृत्ति)वासाय सः ॥ २
(५) अष्टानां खलु माटा(ढा)नाङ्कुल(ला)न्तर-रसैरयं(यम्) ।
वंशानु(क्र*) मतोऽखण्ड-दीप-दातास्य कम्व(म्ब)लिः ॥ ३

No. 4. Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Narasiṁha II, Aṅka Year 24 (1298 A.D.)

The record consists only of four lines of writing. The first three are about 17 inches in length, while the fourth is about 14 inches long. They cover a space of about 3 inches in breadth. The letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in breadth, and a little more than that in height. There is a vertical crack in the middle of the stone bearing the inscription, which has caused total or partial effacement of two letters in each of the lines. The alphabet is Gauḍīya; but the characters are more developed than those of the above records of the time of Narasiṁha I. The letters *kha*, *ga*, *ja*, *ma*, *ra*, *sa*, etc., closely resemble Bengali characters of the present day. The medial forms of the vowels, *a*, *i*, *ī*, *au*, etc., are also modern. Initial *i* (line 4) is midway between modern Oriya *i* and the old sign consisting of two globular marks with a horizontal bar above. The *anusvāra* is the same as in modern Bengali. The letters *va* and *ba* have not been distinguished. The record is written in Sanskrit prose, but is full of orthographical errors, e.g., *sukla-tṛtiā* (*śukla-tṛtīyā*), etc.

The inscription bears the date Bhauma-vāra (Tuesday), Vaiśākha-sudi 3 of the 24th Aṅka year of the *pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya* of Śrīmad-vīra-Narasiṁhadeva. This Narasiṁha appears to be no other than Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II, son of Bhānudeva I, and grandson of Narasiṁha I. Omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years, the 24th Aṅka year of Narasiṁha II comes actually to be his 20th regnal year. From a number of inscriptions dated in the reign of Narasiṁha II, we come to know that the beginning of

his reign fell in Śaka 1200, i.e. 1278 A.D. The details of the date in our record, viz., Bhauma-vāra, 3rd lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, thus show that the actual date of the inscription is Tuesday, the 15th April, 1298 A.D.

The inscription states that a piece of land in the locality called Pañcāsyata-Māhājanī was purchased by the *Guru* Bhāvasadāśiva with what he received as alms and was donated for the study of *vyākaraṇa* apparently at the Liṅgarāja temple. Bhāvasadāśiva may have been a Śaiva teacher associated with the said temple. In the name of the locality, *pañcāsyata* appears to be Sanskrit *pañcāśat* i.e. fifty.

TEXT[1]

1 [Symbol.] Svasti (/ /*) Śrīmad-vīra-Narasiṁhadevasya pravarddha-māna-v[ijaya*]-rājye caturvi(ṁ*)śaty aṅke vartya(rta)māne Vaiśākha-

2 sukla-tṛtiāyāṁ[2] Bhūmi-vāra[3] Gaurī-guru-caraṇ[-ā*]ntaḥkaraṇa-sār-āsāra-saṁsāra-nirāsa(śa)-

3 nidāna-tapasā(ṁ*) Bhāvasadāsi(śi)va-gurūṇāṁ bhi[kṣ-opa]ji(ci)-ta-dravyeṇa Paṁñcāsyata[4]-māhājanī-

4 madhyapāti-bhūbhāgam=ekaṁ krītvā vyākara[ṇa-pā*]ṭhāyāprat-taḥ[5] iti / /0/ /

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ० स्वस्ति (॥*) श्रीमद्वीर-नरसिंहदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान-वि[जय*]-राज्ये चतुर्वि(र्वि)शत्यङ्के वर्त्य(र्त)माने वैशाख-(२) सु(शु)क्ल-तृतिआ(तीया)यां भूमि(भौम)-वार(रे) गौरीगुरु-चरण-(णा)न्तःकरण-सारासार-संसार-निरास(श)-(३) निदान-तपसा(सां) भावसदासि(शि)व-गुरूणां भिक्षोपजि(चि)त-द्रव्येण पं(प)ञ्चास्यत(शन्)-माहाजनी-(४) मध्यपाति-भूभागमेकं क्रीत्वा व्याकर[ण-पा*]ठायाप्रत्तः इति ॥०॥

No. 5. Oriya Part of the Veligalani Grant of Kapileśvara, Śaka 1380 (1458 A.D.)

The Veligalani grant of Kapileśvara or Kapilendra, the great

1. From estampages.
2. Read *śukla-tṛtīyāyāṁ*.
3. Better read *Bhauma-vāre*.
4. Better read *Pañcāśat*. Bhāvasadāśiva reminds us of Bhāvasomeśvara of the Menal inscription (*Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 136ff).
5. This relates to *bhūbhāgaḥ* understood.

founder of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati family of Orissa, was published, without facsimile, by Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagdeb.[1] Unfortunately his reading of the record was full of errors and his treatment of the subject quite unsatisfactory.

The inscription contains three sections, one in Sanskrit (written in Telugu characters), another in Telugu and the third in Oriya. This last section, written in 11 lines only, is engraved on both sides of a single plate, although the reverse of the plate contains only a few letters of the part in question. This section of the record is very difficult to read and interpret since both the drafting of the document and the engraving of the letters are careless.

The characters are early Oriya and some of the letters have forms as in the modern Oriya alphabet. But, as in records written in the Later Kaliṅga script, the same letter sometimes has different shapes and different letters the same shape. By way of illustration we may refer to the passage *Jāgesarapura-sānana* in line 7, which exhibits *ga* and *pa* of the same shape, and to the expressions, *bhogyama* (line 2), *garabha-bhīre* (line 3), *bhumī* (line 4), *bhāga* (line 8) and *bhūmī* (twice in line 9), in which the letter *bha* has altogether different forms. See also the different forms of *ta* in *ātito* in lines 1-2, *gota* in line 4, *tolā* in line 9; of *ṇa* in *purṇa* in line 3 and *Vrāhmaṇa* in lines 4-5; of *ha* in *śrīharsta* in line 2, *Māhārājā* in line 6 and *hoilā* in line 9, etc., as well as the similar forms of *ka* and initial *i* in *Karnṇyaṭa-Kalabarag-esara* in lines 5-6 and *hoilā* in line 9, etc. Letters like *ka*, *ja* and *ha* have often cursive forms. Conjuncts and letters with vowel-marks are also in many cases written in a cursive way, e.g., *ṇḍe* in *khaṇḍe* and *ti* in *āti*° (line 1), *śrī* and *śrī-harsta* (line 2), etc. The letters *la* and *la* have been distinguished as in the modern Oriya alphabet. The letter *cha* has been written by the sign for *kṣa*; but the form of the letter is different in *chatisī* and *chāḍī* in line 10. *Ba* has been indicated by the sign for *va*. It may be pointed out that *va* (even in Sanskrit words) is always pronounced as *ba* in Oriya as in some other East Indian dialects.

The language of the inscription is Oriya. *Sa* has been generally used for *śa*, and it is well known that contractions like *pti* for *pati* as in *Gajap(t*)i* for *Gajapati* (line 5) offer another interesting feature of the

1. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 94-111. See now *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 275ff.

Oriya language. The change of Sanskrit *gau* to *gaü*, *madhya* to *madhi*, *mānya* to *māirṇṇa*, etc., is interesting to note.

The inscription records the grant of a village called Veligalani in the Sanskrit and Telugu parts, but Velagāliṇī in the Oriya section. The Sanskrit portion states that the grant was made by king Kapileśvara while he was camping on the bank of the Godāvarī on the occasion of the Vaiśākhī (i.e. the full moon day in the lunar month of Vaiśākha) in the year 1380 of the Śaka era, otherwise styled Bahudhānya. The Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Śaka 1380=Bahudhānya began on Thursday, the 27th April, 1458 A.D., and ended the next day. Normally therefore the date of the grant should be taken as the 28th April, 1458 A.D. But the Oriya part of the inscription seems to give the name of the week-day on the said date as Bṛhaspati, i.e. Thursday. It is therefore probable that the grant was made on the 27th April, 1458 A.D.

The first sentence reads: *Meḍūra-thaḷa-madhye Velagāliṇī Koṣṭa-kariṇa-nāmā khaṇḍe*. Jagdeb reads it as *Meru-sthalya-madhye belapili-māijā karila nāmā khaṇḍe* which does not give any sense. The word *thaḷa* (Sanskrit *sthala*) has been used here in the sense of a territorial division, and what is here called the *sthala* of Meḍūra is mentioned in the Sanskrit part of the record as the *sīman* of Harigukā-Meḍūri. For *Koṣṭa-kariṇa*, the intended reading seems to be *Koṣṭha-karaṇa*. In the Purī Plates (B) of Narasiṁha IV, the expression *Koṣṭha-vyāpāra* seems to indicate the king's revenue department and *Koṣṭha-deśa* the Khas Mahal, i.e., the lands reserved for the maintenance of the royal household.[1] In the present record, *Koṣṭha-karaṇa* appears to be separated from *Koṣṭha-deśa*, which is mentioned in the following sentence, and probably means the personal property of the king. Thus the sentence introduces the village of Velagāliṇī (called Veligalani in the Sanskrit and Telugu portions of the inscription as already indicated) which is stated to have been situated in the Meḍūra *sthala* (subdivision) and belonged to the division (*khaṇḍa*) called Koṣṭha-karaṇa meaning the king's personal estate.

The second sentence was read by Jagdeb as *āuto Bhogāma-daṇḍapāṭa mulake desaṛ peṁḍi śrī-hasta santake* although it is equally meaningless. The actual reading of the sentence is *ātito Bhogyama-daṇḍapāṭa-mūla-Koṭha-desarū pheḍī śrīharsta(sta)-santake*. The word *ātito* stands for

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 305-06.

Sanskrit *atīta*, 'former', 'past', and *daṇḍapāṭa* indicated an administrative unit in medieval Orissa. *Śrī-hasta* (literally, 'the illustrious hand') no doubt means the king symbolically just as the expression *śrī-caraṇa* (literally, 'the illustrious foot') used in the same sense in the Purī plates referred to above.[1] Santaka is a Pali word (often used in Sanskrit inscriptions in the form *satka*) and means 'belonging to', 'possessed by'.[2] *Śrī-hasta-santaka* in the present context therefore means an object in the king's possession, i.e., his personal estate or property. The sentence thus appears to indicate that the village of Velagāliṇī, mentioned above, was brought under the direct possession of the king after having separated (*pheḍī*) it from the Bhogyama district which was originally (cf. *mūla*) a *Koṣṭha-deśa* (i.e. Khas Mahal) and to which it formerly (cf. *ātito-=atīta*) belonged.

The third sentence reads *Gautamī-nadī-gara[bha]-bhī(ta*)re Sīṅga Vrehalati Purṇa-kāli-smae śrīhaste pāṇī chāḍīlā*. Jagdeb, however, read it as *Gaụtamī nabaṁśara obhire siṅgam betula ugula jānismae śrīhaste pāṇi bhāulā*, although it is impossible to extract any sense out of it. The passage *Gautamī-nadī-garabha-bhitare* (Sanskrit *Gautamī-nadī-garbh-ābhyantare*) means 'in the bed of the river Gautamī (i.e. the Godāvarī)'. *Sīṅga* stands for Sanskrit *siṁha* probably indicating the *Siṁha-lagna*. *Vrehalati* seems to be a mistake for *Brehapati*, i.e. *Bṛhaspati* (Thursday). In *purṇa-kāli-smae*, Sanskrit *pūrṇa-kāla-samaye*, *pūrṇa-kāla* seems to mean the *pūrṇimā-tithi*, although it may also be *puṇya-kāla*, 'auspicious time'. *Pāṇī chāḍīlā* literally means 'poured water'; but its real implication is that the *Śrī-hasta* (i.e. king) made a ceremonial offering by pouring water in the hands of the donees. Thus the sentence means that, while the king was in the bed of the Gautamī or Godāvarī river (apparently taking a bath in the waters of the sacred river for the purpose of making a grant), he made a grant, the nature of which is clarified in the following sentence.

The fourth sentence reads *bhūmī-dāna nānā-gota-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇaṁku*, Sanskrit *bhūmi-danāṁ nānā-gotra-Brāhmaṇebhyaḥ*. The king therefore made a grant of land in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gotras*. Although it is not clearly stated, there is no doubt that the land granted was comprised in the village of Velagāliṇī mentioned earlier in the first sentence. This is clearly suggested by the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
2. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 431 (text line 6); *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 290.

Sanskrit and Telugu parts of the inscription, according to which the village of Veligalani in the Harigukā-Meḍūri Subdivision was granted by king Kapileśvara in favour of 120 Brāhmaṇas. The following sentence shows that the village was divided into three parts, the first of which, as we shall see, was named after the king's father, the second after his mother and the third after himself. This is suggested by the combined evidence of the Sanskrit and Telugu parts of the inscription.

The fifth sentence reads *Vīra-śrī-Gajapta-Gaüdesara rnṇava-koṭi-Karnṇyaṭa-Kalavarag-esara Pratāpa-Kapīlesaradeva-māhārājāṅkara data Jāgesarapura-sāsana Velamapura-sāsana Pratāpa-Kapilesarapura-sāsana.* In this sentence the word *Gajapta*=Sanskrit *Gajapati* has been read by Jagdeb as *gajaśrī*. The king's name is given in the sentence as *Māhārājā* (Sanskrit *Māhārāja*) Pratāpa-Kapileśvara (i.e. the valiant Kapileśvara) who is endowed with the *virudas Vīra-śrī-Gajapati* (i.e. the heroic and illustrious lord of elephants), *Gauḍeśvara* (i.e. the lord of Gauḍa) and *Nava-koṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara* which means 'the lord of the Karṇāṭa and Kalavarga (i.e. Gulbarga) countries consisting of nine crores of villages', the number being a conventional and exaggerated one.[1] These epithets of Kapileśvara, which were continuously used by his successors and others, refer to his vainglorious claim of the conquest of the entire dominions of the Sultāns of Bengal, the Rāyas of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga, even though he actually achieved some success against all these three powers. The three *śāsanas* or rent-free holdings created by the king out of the village of Velagāliṇī are mentioned as Yāgeśvarapura, Velamāpura and Pratāpa-Kapileśvarapura. As already indicated above, this is supported by the Telugu part of the inscription, which, however, mentions Velamāpura as Vellamāmbāpura. The Sanskrit portion of the record shows that the *śāsanas* were named after the king himself and of his parents (*sva-pitr-ākhyayā*). There is no doubt that Yāgeśvara was the name of Kapileśvara's father and Velamā or Vellamāmbā that of his mother. One of the Rajahmundry grants of Raghudeva also quotes the name of Kapileśvara's father as Yāgeśvara.[2]

The sixth sentence reads *e tinī sāsanaku bhā* (i.e. *bhāga*) *40 lekhāe bhāga 120* which means that each of the three gift villages was divided

1. Cf. *Journ. Bih. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XL, Part I, March 1954, pp. 8ff; Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 1971, pp. 256ff.
2. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 275ff; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 4. There also the name is spelt wrongly as Jāgeśvara.

into 40 parts thus making 120 parts altogether. The Telugu section of the epigraph shows how each one of the *śāsanas* was divided into two halves, viz. northern and southern, and how each of these halves was subdivided into plots allotted to 20 Brāhmaṇas. The names of all the 120 Brāhmaṇa donees of the three *śāsanas* have also been enumerated in the said section.

The seventh sentence reads—*e*(?) *vāḍī-tolā-jala-bhūmī madhikari dei hoilā*, in which Jagdeb omits the first letter and reads *madhya* for *madhi* and *voilā* for *hoilā*. The sentence means to say that the 120 parts comprised in the gift land were granted (*dei hoilā*) together with the areas of homestead land (*vāḍī-bhūmī*), raised land (*tolā-bhūmī*) and wet land (*jala-bhūmī*) in them.

The eighth sentence reads *e gāara bhūmi pāa|*, although Jagdeb reads *egāaca bhūmī jāā* which is no doubt meaningless. It is apparently addressed to the donees. The king here requests the 120 Brāhmaṇas to occupy or accept the land allotted to each one of them in the 120 parts, into which the village of Velagāliṇī was ultimately divided.

The ninth and last sentence of the inscription is read by Jagdeb as *tumme sarbapāillā ku tasi ābadāni kari sāmelā kale* [*bho*]*ga karāiba* which is full of errors and altogether meaningless. The correct reading is *aihme sarva-māirṇṇa chatisī āvadānā madhikari chāḍī bhāke-bhoga karāibā*. In this, *sarva-māirṇṇa* stands for Sanskrit *sarva-mānya* (literally, 'an object to be respected by all') which is similar to expressions like *sarva namasya* and *namasya-vṛtti*, all of which are often found in inscriptions in the sense of a rent-free holding.[1] In the passage *chatisī āvadānā* (literally, 'thirty-six [principal] taxes'), the word *chatisī* has been used really in the sense of 'all' and not exactly 'thirty-six'.[2] The passage *chatisī āvadānā madhikari chāḍī* means to say that the king exempted the *śāsanas* from all imposts including the 'thirty-six' taxes. The same idea is expressed in a part of the record incised below the end of the Oriya portion on the back of the plate in question. This section is written in Sanskrit in Telugu characters, but has to be read from the opposite side. The letters are beaten in, although they must have belonged to the original charter. The second half of this part contains the well-known stanza: *Sāmānyo='yaṁ dharma-setu°*, etc., very often found at the end of royal charters. The first half contains a stanza in the

1. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 115.

Anuṣṭubh metre which reads as follows:

āvedanāni ṣaṭtriṁśat tyaktvā śrī-Kapileśvaraḥ /
grāma-grās-ānvitaṁ grāmaṁ sarva-mānyaṁ sad=ākarot //

The word *āvadānā* in the Oriya part and *āvedana* in the Sanskrit portion, used in the sense of 'a tax', is found in the form *avadāna* in the Purī plates (B) referred to above.[1] The expression *bhāke-bhoga* seems to be a mistake for *bhāga-bhoga* or *bhāga-bhogya* and to refer to the fact that the gift land was distributed among the donees in equal shares.

At the end of the Oriya inscription, in continuation of its last line, there is the conventional representation of a dagger which is generally found at the end of the charters of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis of Orissa. This is meant to represent, conventionally, the king's signature on the original document later inscribed on the plates. It is followed by the figure of an elephant, the emblem of the Gajapati (literally, 'the lord of elephants') kings.[2] Beyond the elephant, there are the representations of the crescent moon and the sun which are found in many medieval epigraphs to indicate the permanent character of the grants recorded in them, which were expected to last as long as the sun and moon would endure. There are also the representations of the sun and a lotus beneath those of the moon and the sun. This lotus is in the margin near the ring-hole and there is similar representation of a lotus near the hole on the obverse of the plate as well.

TEXT[3]

Obverse

1 Meḍūra-thaḷa-madhye Velagāliṇī-Koṣṭa-kariṇa-[4]nāmā khaṇḍe (/*) āti-

2 to Bhogyama-daṇḍapāṭa mūḷa-Koṭha-desarū pheḍī Śrī-harsta(sta)-

3 santake (/*) Gaütamī-nadī-gara[bha]-bhī(ta*)re Siṅga-Vrehala(pa)-ti-Purṇa-

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 306.
2. The figure of an elephant is affixed to the seal of the Rajahmundry plates of Prince Raghudeva who was a nephew (brother's son) of Kapileśvara (*Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1ff).
3. From impressions.
4. Read *Koṣṭha-karaṇa*. The *akṣara ṇa* had been originally omitted and was later engraved in the small space between *ri* and *ṇa*

4 kāli-smae śrīhaste pāṇī chāḍīlā (/*) bhumī-dāna nānā-gota Vrā-(Brā)-
5 mhaṇaṅku (/*) Vīra-śrī-Gajapta-Gaüḍesara-rnṇava-koṭī-Karnṇ-yaṭa-
6 Kalabarag-esara Pratāpa-Kapīḷesaradeva-māhārājā-
7 ṅkara data Jāgesarapura-sāsana Velamapura-sāsana Pratāpa-Ka-
8 pīḷesarapura-sāsana (/*) e tinī sāsanaku bhā(ga*) 40 ḷekhāe bhāga 120 (/*) e(?)[1]
9 vāḍi-tolā-jaḷa-bhūmī madhikari dei hoilā (/*) e gāara bhūmī
10 pāa / aihme sarva-māirṇṇa chatisī āvadānā madhikari chāḍī bhāke-(ga)-[bho]-

Reverse

11 ga karāivā (//*)[2]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

Obverse

(१) मेडूर-थल-मध्ये वेलगालिणी कोष्ट(ष्ठ)-करि(र)ण-नामा खण्डे (।*) आति-
(२) तो भोग्यम-दण्डपाट मूल-कोठ-देसरू फेड़ी श्रीहस्तं(स्त)-(३) सन्तके (।*) गउतमी-नदी-गर-(भ)-भी(त*)रे सिङ्ग-व्रे(ब्रे)हल(प)ति-पूण्ण
(४) कालि(ल)-स्मये श्रीहस्ते पाणी छाड़ीला (।*) भूमी-दान नाना-गोत वा(ब्रा)-
(५) ह्मणङ्क० (।*) वीरश्री-गजप्त-गउड़ेसर-र्ण्ण(न)व-कोटी-कन्यट- (६) कलवरगेसर प्रताप-कपीलेसरदेव-माहाराजा(७)ङ्कर दत जागेसरपुर-सासन वेलमपुर-सासन प्रताप-क(८)पीलेसरपुर-सासन (।*) ए तिनी सासनकु भा(ग*) ४० लेखाए भाग १२० (।*) (९) वाड़ि-तोला-जल-भूमी मधिकारि देइ होइला (।*) ए गाअर भूमी
(१०) पाअ । ऐह्मे सर्व माइण्ण छतिसी आवदाना मधिकारि छाड़ी भाके(ग)-(भो)-

Reverse

(११) गकराइवा (॥*)

TRANSLATION

[The village of] Velagāliṇī [lies] in the subdivision (*thaḷa=sthala*) of Meḍūra [and belongs to] the division (*khaṇḍa*) called Koṣṭha-karaṇa (i.e. the personal estate of the king).

1. This letter has a peculiar shape.
2. Below this line, there is the following stanza (three lines) in Sanskrit in Telugu characters:

Kalyāṇam=ākalayatāṁ Kamalādhināthaḥ
Kolākṛtir=jalanidhes=samuduhyamānā /
daṁtena yasya Kanakācala-karṇikā bhūr=
vyākoca-kokanada-koraka-kāṁtir=āsīt //

[It is now brought] under the [direct] possession of the Śrīhasta (i.e. king Kapileśvara) after having separated [it] from the original Koṣṭha-deśa (i.e. Khas Mahal), formerly [called] the Bhogyama district (*daṇḍapāṭa*).

[While the king was taking a bath for the purpose of making a grant] in the bed of the river Gautamī (i.e. Godāvarī), the Śrīhasta (i.e. the king) poured water (i.e. made a gift of the village of Velagāliṇī by pouring water in the hands of the donees) at a time when the *kāla* (i.e. *tithi* or time) was *Pūrṇa* (i.e. *Pūrṇimā*, or *puṇya*, 'auspicious'), [the week-day] Bṛhaspati [and the *lagna*) Siṁha.

[It is] a gift of land in favour of [a number of] Brāhmaṇas belonging to various *gotras*.

[The gift land consists of three divisions called] Yāgeśvarapura-śāsana, Velamāpura-śāsana [and] Pratāpa-Kapileśvarapura-śāsana [which are] granted by *Mahārāja* Pratāpa-Kapileśvaradeva [styled] Vīra-śrī-Gajapati, Gauḍ-eśvara [and] Navakoṭi-Karṇāṭa-Kalavargeśvara.

The shares of [each of] these three gift villages are written as 40 [so that] the shares [of the three together] are 120.

These are given together with homestead land, dry land and marshy land.

[The king says, 'Oh, you donees,] do occupy (or, accept) the land of this village (i.e. Velagāliṇī divided into three *śāsanas* or gift villages).

'We create [this] *sarva-mānya* (i.e. rent-free holding), the [different] plots [of which] are to be enjoyed [by the different donees], after having renounced [the royal claim to all imposts] including the thirty-six [principal] taxes.'

Chapter Five

TRIPURA

No. 1. Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Vijayamāṇikya (I), Śaka 1410 (1488 A.D.)

In the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a copper-plate inscription of the time of king Vijayamāṇikya of Tripurā. No information is available about the findspot of the plate and the circumstances leading to its discovery. Since, however, Baḍa-Kāmatā, one of the villages granted by the document in question, seems to be identical with the village of that name (popularly called Baḍ-Kāmtā or Baḍkāntā) situated in the Comilla District of Bangladesh, it is possible that the plate was originally found with an inhabitant of that District.[1]

The inscription is written on one side of a single plate, which is rather thin and has no royal seal attached to it. Many other charters of the Tripurā kings are of this type. The plate is rectangular in shape and measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in breadth. The writing has a double-lined border on all the four sides. The incision of the *akṣaras* is not deep; but the letters hang from long top lines serving as their *mātrā* and, in line 9, this *mātrā* has cut through the thickness of the plate for a length of about 3 inches. There are altogether 18 lines of writing, of which the last one covers only half the length of the other lines. The plate weighs 16 Tolās.

The characters employed in the inscription are the same as those found in the epigraphic and manuscript records of about the 16th century, discovered in Bengal and its neighbourhood. They may be

1. Cf. *Journ. As Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951, pp. 73ff.

compared with the characters of the Barākar inscriptions[1] of Śaka 1382 (1461 A.D.) and Śaka 1468 (1546 A.D.), the inscription of Vikrama Saṁvat 1553 (1496 A.D.), discussed above,[2] and the Kāmākhyā hill inscription of Pramattasiṁha dated Śaka 1666 (1744 A.D)[3] among epigraphs, and the Cambridge manuscript No. 1699 (1-2) of 1198 A.D.,[4] Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* dated 1265 A.D.,[5] the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, dated 1435 A.D.,[6] the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrttana*,[7] written about the 17th century, and the *Dharmapūjāvidhi*[8] among manuscripts. Generally speaking, the closest resemblance of the alphabet of our record is to be found with that of the inscription of Pramattasiṁha and the manuscripts of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrttana*. Since the date of the inscription under discussion falls about the close of the 15th century A.D., some of its palaeographical features, which are either not usually noticed or are often ascribed by scholars to earlier or later dates, may be noticed here. The theory that the fully developed Bengali form of the letter *śa* with its 'two small circles' is not to be found 'till the expiry of the 15th century',[9] does not appear to be supported by our record which exhibits the modern form of *śa*. The form of *sa* found in the present inscription is rather peculiar as its left member is joined with the right vertical at the top of the latter. The form of *ṭa* is the same as in modern Bengali, but that of *ja*, with its short and straight tongue, is earlier than its modern form found in the manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrttana* and other later records. *Ra* with the bar across its belly has the form used now in Assam.[10] Initial *i* has the top mark above

1. *Arch. Surv. Ind., A.R*, 1922-23, p. 110; *Journ. R. As. Soc. Beng.*, Letters, Vol. II, pp. 21ff; Vol. IV, p. 367. The word *netra* in the date of the first inscription should be taken as 2 instead of as 3.
2. See also *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16.
3. R.D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Plate X facing p. 92.
4. Bühler, Palaeographic chart, No. VI, Column X.
5. Edited by Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938, Plate.
6. RASB, No. 8067; Banerji, *op. cit.*, Plate V facing p. 36; Plate VI facing p. 44; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. IV, pp. 367, 373ff.
7. Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad; as we have seen, this manuscript is sometimes assigned to the 14th or 15th century A.D. See Banerji, *op. cit.*, Plate VIII facing p. 60; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV, *loc. cit.*
8. RASB, No. 5438; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV, *loc. cit.*
9. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
10. This form of *ra* had been in use throughout the eastern half of Bengal and also in parts of its western half before the present dotted form of the letter was popularized by the printing press originally founded in South-West Bengal.

the *mātrā* as in the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrttana* manuscript. *La* is written in two different ways (cf. *kalpa-vallī* in line 4). *Na* is of the modern type. The forms of *su*, *sva*, *tva*, *tya*, etc., are interesting. *Hu* is modern; but the sign for *visarga* looks like the Bengali figure 4. In *lpa* in line 4, the superscript has not exactly touched the subscript. There is little difference between the forms of medial *u* and *ṛ*. The numerical figures for *1*, *4* and *5* occur in the inscription. Of these, the form of *5* is not modern. Final *n* has been often written without the usual sign. *Ba* and *va* have been indicated by the same sign.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although the foreign word *terikha* (Arabic *tārīkh*) occurs in the date. The inscription is written in verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; but the date is given in a passage in prose at the end of the document and the passage introducing an imprecatory verse in line 14 is also in prose. There are mistakes of spelling as *Saka* for *Śaka*, *Vaisākha* for *Vaiśākha*, etc. Interesting from the orthographical point of view are also such words as *vedaṅga* (line 5) and *brahmottara* (line 10). The composition is poor, and there are some defects in both language and versification. Final *m* has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra*. The last word of one verse or half-verse has often been wrongly joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the following stanza or half-stanza.

The inscription is dated on the 15th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 1410, and the *tithi* is given as the Mahā-Vaiśākhī. According to the present custom in Bengal, the 15th day of Vaiśākha is the 15th day of the solar month of that name. The word *Vaiśākhī* usually indicates the full moon of the month of Vaiśākha. If Mahā-Vaiśākhī is taken in this sense, the date has to be regarded as irregular like many others in epigraphic records.[1] If the word *Mahā-Vaiśākhī* was used in the sense of 'new moon', the details would indicate that the Vaiśākhī new moon fell in Śaka 1410 on the 15th of solar Vaiśākha. In that case, the date regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 10th of April, 1488 A.D. The genuineness of the record can hardly be questioned on the strength of the irregular date because the fraudulent creation of a large rent-free estate, such as we find in the record, was never an easy thing for keeping secret even for a short time and for getting passed as genuine.

1. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 227-28; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342ff.

The inscription begins with the word *svasti*. Verse 1 introduces the king śrī-śrī-Vijayamāṇikya whose fame is said to have been sung by the gods. The passage *candra-candra-yaśaḥ* in this verse means 'the fame as bright as the shining moon' or 'the fame as shining as gold and the moon'. The expression *Pārtha-sahodara* in the king's description is used apparently to suggest the word *bhīma* which means both 'formidable' and 'Pārtha's brother' (i.e. Bhīma, brother of Pārtha or Arjuna). The use of such peculiar expressions would suggest that the author, although he was a poor Sanskritist and a weak versifier, was not completely unmindful of the traditions of the Gauḍī-rīti or the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition. Verse 2 introduces the king's *mātulānī* (i.e., the wife of his mother's brother) as the wife of Daityanārāyaṇa. This lady is called *śrīmatī*, *puṇyavatī* and *satī*, and one of these three words indicated her name, the other two being epithets. Since, however, the names Śrīmatī and Satī are not known in the Tripurā traditions while the name Puṇyavatī is famous in the annals of the old Tripurā state,[1] it may be surmised that the name of the lady mentioned in verse 2 of our inscription was really Puṇyavatī. The lady is said to have been famous (*viditā*) as the very creeper called Kalpa (i.e., a certain creeper or tree in Indra's paradise supposed to grant all desires) on the earth. Verse 3 says that the lady mentioned in the previous stanza granted land to a Brāhmaṇa named *Ācārya* Vanamālin who was well-versed in the Vedas, after having bowed down and paying her respects to him. The next stanza (verse 4) enumerates the names of the villages granted to *Ācārya* Vanamālin. Since there is no indication as regards the number of the villages contained in the passage and no means to separate one name from another, it is difficult to find out from the passage the exact names of the villages and their number. The passage containing the names of the villages runs as follows: *gāṅgaṭiyārācacāmerachāyākoṭaśvadutalācāripāḍābharāgāṅgacovaḍakāmatā*. The names, loosely fitted in a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, can, however, hardly be read without regarding many of the *a-kār-ānta* consonants as final ones. And when one reads the verse in this way, the correct names of at least some of the villages may occur to him. To us the names of the villages appear to be as follows: Gāṅgṭiyārā, Cacāmer, Chāyākoṭ, Śvadutalā, Cāripāḍā, Bharāgāṅgco and Baḍ-Kāmtā. It is expected that most of these villages are still known by the names men-

1. Cf. *Śrī-Rājamālā*, ed. by Kaliprasanna Sen, Vol. II, pp. 39, 87, 258, 318.

tioned in the inscription. Among these, Vaḍa-Kāmatā=Baḍ-Kāmtā= Baḍkāntā is near Comilla in Bangladesh as we have said above. The inscription proves the inclusion of the present Comilla District in the dominions of the Tripurā kings which is also known from other evidences.

Verse 5 says that, after having granted the said beautiful villages as a *brahmottara* (Sanskrit *brahmatrā*),[1] the lady addressed the future rulers of the land with words that were in full conformity with the Vedas. The next verse (verse 6), which represents her request to the future kings referred to in the previous stanza, says that the future rulers of the country, whether they belong to the donor's own family or to some other royal family, should protect the lands granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas by earlier rulers, in accordance with the principles of righteousness.[2] The well-known imprecatory verse *sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc., is next quoted with the introduction *tathā ca smṛtiḥ*, "Thus says the *smṛti* (law-book)." The date comes at the end in lines 17-18.

The date of our inscription and the information supplied by it raise a number of problems concerning the history of the Tripurā royal family, which, unfortunately, has not been written on scientific lines with the help of epigraphic and numismatic sources. Attempts to write a systematic account of the old royal family in question are unfortunately based principally on the Bengali chronicle entitled *Rājamālā*. Even the latest and most elaborate attempt made by Paṇḍit Kaliprasanna Sen under the patronage of the former rulers of Tripurā has been a failure for the want of a correct historical approach.[3] It is unfortunate that Sen admits his difficulty in utilizing epigraphic material, although a number of unpublished epigraphs appear to have been available to him, apparently because he could not reconcile the evidence of inscriptions with the details supplied by the *Rājamālā*.[4] The

1. Cf. Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v.
2. Note that the lady Puṇyavatī is here indirectly assuming the role of a king.
3. Three big volumes of the *Śrī-Rājamālā* edited by Sen with numerous explanatory details were published. The fourth volume of the series did not appear.
4. See *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 194: *Tripurār tāmra-śāsan-i ei ālocanār mūlībhūta vaṣay/ Kintu varttamān-kāle anek-śāsan duṣprāpya hawāy evaṁ āviṣkṛta anek-śāsaner prati āsthā-sthāpan karite hṛdaye dvidhā-bhāv upasthit hawāy, viṣayṭi yathāyatha ālocanār suvidhā haila nā* / It may be noted that the author had to admit a number of discrepancies in the chronology of the *Rājamālā* which was found to be conflicting with the evidence of published coins (Vol. III, pp. 234ff).

authenticity of this chronicle for the earlier period of the history of the Tripurā royal family, however, is not beyond doubt. As we pointed out elsewhere,[1] the first part of the *Rājamālā*, usually ascribed to the 15th century,[2] appears to be later than the middle of the 18th century. The composition of the second part of the chronicle, which deals with the reign of king Vijayamāṇikya, has been ascribed to the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century.[3] It, however, seems to us that both the first and second parts of the present *Rājamālā* were compiled early in the 19th century.

There is no doubt that the accounts have a historical basis and are more or less reliable in regard to the period witnessed by the compilers. In regard to the earlier period, however, they must have relied on tradition, recorded or unrecorded, and their own imagination. Thus the details furnished by the earlier part of the present *Rājamālā* regarding the history of the Tripurā royal family down to the 18th century require verification from other sources.

According to the traditions recorded in the *Rājamālā*,[4] king Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripurā, who married Kamalādevī, daughter of *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa, led expeditions against Chittagong in Śaka 1435 (1513 A.D.) and 1437 (1515 A.D.). Nothing is said in this chronicle about the date of Dhanyamāṇikya's accession or death or the duration of his rule. On the basis of the same traditions, he is supposed by some writers to have reigned in Śaka 1385-1437 (1463-1515 A.D.) and by others in Śaka 1412-42 (1490-1520 A.D.). According to the *Rājamālā*, Dhanyamāṇikya was succeeded by his son Devamāṇikya, although a different tradition recorded in the *Tripuravaṁśāvalī*[5] is said to place the rule (covering six years) of Dhvajamāṇikya, another son of Dhanyamāṇikya, between the reigns of Dhanyamāṇikya and Devamāṇikya. The reign of Dhvajamāṇikya is placed by some writers in Śaka 1438-43 (1516-21 A.D.), while that of Devamāṇikya is assigned to Śaka 1444-49 (1522-27 A.D.) by some and to 1522-35 A.D. by others. Devamāṇikya's successor was his infant younger son, Indramāṇikya, who ruled for one year in 1527-28 A.D. according to some writers and was killed by *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa.

1. *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (1948, 1973), pp. 4, 39, 47 and notes.
2. Sen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 77.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 83.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-64, 174-84.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Traditions are silent whether this *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa is identical with the general of the same name who was the father of a queen of Dhanyamāṇikya. *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa is then said to have raised Vijayamāṇikya, eldest son of Devamāṇikya, to the Tripurā throne. Vijayamāṇikya is further said to have ascended the throne at the age of seven only. According to some writers, he ruled for 42 years in Śaka 1450-92 (1528-70 A.D.) while others assign his rule of 48 years to 1535-83 A.D. The difference in regard to the duration of Vijayamāṇikya's reign is due to the variant readings in different manuscripts of the chronicle. According to the *Rājamālā*, Vijayamāṇikya married Puṇyavatī (Lakṣmībālā or Lakṣmīdevī according to the *Śreṇīmālā*, to a different passage of the *Rājamālā* and to Vijayamāṇikya's coins),[1] who was a daughter of *Senāpati* Daityanārāyaṇa. Queen Puṇyavatī is said to have herself issued a large number of copper-plate charters recording her grants of land made in favour of the Brāhmaṇas in such localities as Homnābād and Tiṣiṇā.[2] King Vijayamāṇikya later killed his father-in-law Daityanārāyaṇa because the latter had become extremely powerful in the state during the king's minority.

It will be seen from the above account that the different copies of the *Rājamālā* sometimes record conflicting traditions, that the *Rājamālā* traditions sometimes do not agree with those recorded in other chronicles, and that the chronology based on the traditions found in the chronicles is incompatible with the date of the present inscription.

In regard to the reigns of the above kings of Tripurā, Sen refers to two late inscriptions on the walls of the Tripurasundarī temple, both purporting to say that the temple was built by king Dhanyamāṇikya in Śaka 1423 (1501 A.D.), and that it was repaired by a later king named Rāmamāṇikya in Śaka 1603 (1681 A.D.).[3] He also speaks of two types of Dhanyamāṇikya's coins, one bearing no date but the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 87; Introduction, p. 33. The coins also mention Sarasvatī-mahādevī and Vāmadevī as Vijayamāṇikya's queens. See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist*, Vol. III, pp. 23ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 39: *Puṇyavatī nāme haila pṛthivīte dhanyā // Homanābāde dvije dila bahutara grām / Tiṣiṇāte dila grām Brāhmaṇe anupām // tāmrapatre likhi dila Puṇayavatī-nāme / Puṇayavatī matī satī śloke anukrame // vidhi-mate bhūmi kata utsargiyā dila /*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 96 and Plate facing it; p. 99 and Plate facing p. 98.

other dated in Śaka 1412 (1490 A.D.).[1] He further refers to a coin of Vijayamāṇikya dated Śaka 1481 (1569 A.D.)[2] and, elsewhere, to coins of the same king dated in Śaka 1480 and 1481,[3] although none of them is illustrated in his work. There is nothing improbable in the dates read on the coins of Vijayamāṇikya as the reign of this king must have covered considerable portions of the third quarter of the 16th century. This is suggested by the mention of Vijayamāṇikya, king of Tripurā, in Abul Fazl's *'Ain-i-Akbarī*,[4] composed about the end of that century. The *'Ain-i-Akbarī* says, "Adjoining it (i.e., the country called Bhāṭī) is an extensive tract of country inhabited by the Tipperah tribes. The name of the ruler is Bijay Mānik. Whosoever obtains the chieftainship bears the title of *Mānik* after his name, and the nobles that of *Nārāin*. He has a force of two hundered thousand footmen and a thousand elephants. Horses are scarce."

It is impossible to reconcile, in the present state of our knowledge, the date of the present inscription with the chronology based on the tradition recorded in the *Rājamālā* and other chronicles. It appears that Vijayamāṇikya of our record was really a different person who ruled for a short time about Śaka 1410 (1488 A.D.) even though the fact is unknown to the *Rājamālā*. Thus Vijayamāṇikya who ruled in Śaka 1410 (1488 A.D.) seems to be Vijayamāṇikya I while the homonymous king of Tripurā who ruled in the sixteenth century was Vijayamāṇikya II. That the Tripurā chronicles sometimes do not mention kings who actually reigned is now proved by the coins of Īśvaramāṇikya issued in Śaka 1522 (1600-01 A.D.).[5] That the *Rājamālā* is not dependable has been further proved by numismatic and epigraphic evidence. Thus it offers the following genealogy of kings assigned to a period of a century and a half in the 14th and 15th centuries: (1) Ratnamāṇikya, (2) his son Pratāpamāṇikya I, (3) his

1. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 31-33 and Plate facing p. 32. For this coin and another on which the date is doubtfully read as Śaka 1419, see *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1913-14, pp. 250-51 and Plate. Cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist., loc. cit.*
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 181.
3. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 33. For Vijayamāṇikya's coins of Śaka 1476, 1482 and 1485, see *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 23ff. For his coins of Śaka 1451, 1470, 1479 and 1482, see *Bāṅglā Deśer Itihās—Madhya-yug*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, p. 496.
4. Translation by H.S. Jerrett, Vol. II, p. 117; cf. Gladwyn's translation, Vol. II, p. 3.
5. *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 108.

younger brother Mukuṭamāṇikya, (4) his son Mahāmāṇikya, (5) his son Dharmamāṇikya, (6) his son Pratāpamāṇikya II, and (7) his younger brother Dhanyamāṇikya. However, Ratnamāṇikya's coins issued between Śaka 1386 and 1389 show that he was on the throne in 1464 to 1468 A.D. while the earliest date on Dhanyamāṇikya's coins is Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A.D.) so that the latter could not have been the great-great-grandson of the former. Moreover, the chronicle itself speaks of a charter issued by Dharmamāṇikya, son of Mahāmāṇikya, in Śaka 1380, Meṣa-saṅkrānti, Monday, Sudi 13, i.e. the 27th March, 1458 A.D. Mahāmāṇikya and his son Dharmamāṇikya therefore ruled earlier than Ratnamāṇikya who may have been the son of Dharmamāṇikya. Then again, Mukuṭamāṇikya issued coins in Śaka 1411 (1489-90 A.D.) immediately before Dhanyamāṇikya's coins of Śaka 1412 (1490-91 A.D.), so that the latter could have been the son but not the great-grandson of the former. It seems that Vijayamāṇikya I of the copper-plate grant of Śaka 1410 (1488 A.D.) was Mukuṭamāṇikya's elder brother and predecessor whom the *Rājamālā* mentions as Pratāpamāṇikya II and who apparently had a very short reign.[1]

According to our inscription, Puṇyavatī, wife of king Vijayamāṇikya's maternal uncle Daityanārāyaṇa, granted some villages in favour of a Brāhmaṇa in Śaka 1410 in her own name without mentioning whether she took the permission of the king. This seems to point to the time when the king was a minor and the *de facto* ruler of his dominions was Puṇyavatī's husband, Daityanārāyaṇa. The traditions recorded in the Tripurā chronicles, as we have seen, actually speak of a Daityanārāyaṇa as all-powerful in the state during the early years of the reign of Vijayamāṇikya II and also of a lady named Puṇyavatī who became famous for granting land to Brāhmaṇas in her own name fitted in *ślokas*. The coincidence is really striking. Another interesting fact is that the passage *Puṇyavatī matī satī śloke anukrame* in the description of the generous lady as found in the *Rājamālā* seems to be an echo of *bhūloke kalpa-vallīva śrīmatī Puṇyavatī satī* in verse 2 of the present inscription. As a matter of fact, *matī* in the chronicle is meaningless unless it is taken to be a corruption or contraction of *śrīmatī*. It is also to be noticed that *śrīmatī* has wrongly one syllable in excess in the Sanskrit verse and it would have been similarly unsuited also in the Bengali verse. Under the circumstances, it may be that Daityanārā-

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

yaṇa, who was the maternal uncle of king Vijayamāṇikya, has been made the king's father in-law in the chronicle and that Puṇyavatī, who was the king's *mātulānī* (maternal uncle's wife) and the wife of Daityanārāyaṇa, has been similarly made the king's wife and Daityanārāyaṇa's daughter. Two points have to be borne in mind in this connection. In the first place, it is impossible to believe that there were two persons named Daityanārāyaṇa, both all-powerful in the Tripurā state during the early years of the reign of a king named Vijayamāṇikya, one of them being the king's maternal uncle and the other his father-in-law. It is of course not impossible that Vijayamāṇikya married his maternal uncle's daughter so that the same person was both his maternal uncle and father-in-law; but the real name of Vijayamāṇikya's chief queen, as already indicated above, was not Puṇyavatī. Thus, even if the representation of Daityanārayaṇa as Vijayamāṇikya's father-in-law may be somehow explained, the mention of Puṇyavatī as the king's chief queen in the chronicle is no doubt due to confusion. This is a confusion between two kings bearing the same name, viz., Vijayamāṇikya I and Vijayamāṇikya II, as we have suggested above.

In connection with the history of the Tripurā state, we may also refer to a common error about the origin of the Tripurā era. The era is 3 years in advance of the Bengal San. In December 1976, it is year 1383 of the Bengal era, while it is year 1386 of the Tripurā era. It is believed that the Tripurā era is a regular reckoning prevalent from its start in 590 A.D. Similarly it was formerly believed by some writers that the Bengal era was a regular reckoning since its epoch in 593 A.D., although this absurd theory is no longer entertained by any serious student of history, and it is now an accepted fact that the Bengal San is nothing but the Faslī era in a different garb. The Faslī era was established by the Mughal emperor Akbar in Hijrī 971 (1563 A.D.) by converting the year 971 of the Arabic lunar reckoning to a solar year. The Hijrī year being shorter than the solar year by about 11 days, its months had no relation with the harvesting seasons of the *rabī* and *kharīf* crops. Mainly to avoid a difficulty experienced by the farmers and tax-collectors, Akbar introduced a simultaneous solar reckoning of the year since Hijrī 971, which thus came to be counted as year 971 of the Faslī era as well. The Bengal era is an adaptation of this solar reckoning.[1] There is little doubt that the so-called Tripurā era is an-

1. See S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 147, 153-54; *Journ. B. Or. Res. Soc.*, Vol.

other adaptation of the same reckoning. The use of the Tripurā era has been traced from the days of Govindamāṇikya (1660-61, 1667-81 A.D.). It is interesting to note that Hijrī was three years ahead of Faslī in A.H. 1074 (1663-64 A.D.)[1] during the reign of Nakṣatrarāya *alias* Chatramāṇikya (1061-67 A.D.) who, therefore, must have introduced the Tripurā era. This reminds us of the fact that both Chatramāṇikya and Govindamāṇikya are said to have been the first Tripurā kings who were subordinate to the Nawabs of Murshīdābād. Nakṣatrarāya was his elder step-brother's representative at the Murshīdābād court and usurped the latter's throne with the help of the Nawab's forces and assumed the name Chatramāṇikya. On his death, Govindamāṇikya regained his throne with the Nawab's grace and became a feudatory of the Nawab to whom he paid a tax of five elephants annually.[2]

We have elsewhere discussed how the introduction of the use of a popular era in ancient India was due to foreigners; but it is well known that the use of an era did not become popular in all parts of India in the early period. During the age of the Imperial Guptas, the Gupta era of 320 A.D. was introduced in Bengal and Assam. Its prevalence in the Tripurā region is proved by the Gunaighar (18 miles from Comilla) inscription[3] of Vainyagupta dated in the Gupta year 188 (507 A.D.) and the copper-plate[4] grant of Lokanātha dated in the Gupta year 344 (664 A.D.). But the use of the Gupta era was discontinued by later rulers not only in the said region, but practically in the whole of Eastern India. Later kings of the Comilla-Chittagong area, such as those belonging to the Khaḍga and Rāta dynasties,[5]

XXII, p. 172; G.H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (Hindi), 19.8, pp. 192-93; Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 312-13.

1. See *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 557ff; *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 235ff.
2. See *Śri-Rājamālā*, ed. K P. Sen, Vol. IV, pp. 67 and 11. This volume was not completely printed and put on sale.
3. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 331ff.
4. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224.
5. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1394, 1588-90 for the Khaḍgas, and *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41 for the Rātas. There is a controversy about the reading of the dates of the Asharafpur plates of the Khaḍgas. We have no doubt, however, that Bhandarkar's No. 1394 reads *Samva(Saṁva)t 10+3 Vaiśākha-di 10+3* (cf. the symbol for 10 used in this record with that in the Midnapur plates of the time of Śaśāṅka in *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. XI, Plates I-II). The speculations about the reading of this date appear to be unwarranted

Kāntideva of the Chittagong plate[1] and Bhavadeva of Devaparvata,[2] dated their charters according to the years of their regnal reckoning. The Śaka era must have been popularised by the Senas who migrated from Karṇāṭa (where the use of that era was very popular) and settled in Bengal in the eleventh century. The prevalence of this era in the Comilla-Chittagong region since the Sena age is evidenced by such inscriptions as the Maināmatī plate[3] of Harikāladeva-Raṇavaṅkamalla, dated Saka 1141, and the Chittagong plate[4] of Dāmodara dated Śaka 1165. There is hardly any possibility of the popularity of the Tripurā era in the same area since 590 A.D. The creation of the Tripurā era is later than the days of the earlier rulers including Vijayamāṇikya II who used only the Śaka era.

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to determine the relation of the Tripurā royal family with any of the ancient rulers of the Comilla-Chittagong area known from epigraphic sources. It is very probable that the early members of the family were leaders of some aboriginal tribes of the neighbouring hilly region and that they became gradually powerful and extended their political influence on the adjoining plains. This event does not appear to be much later than the Muslim conquest of West Bengal about the beginning of the 13th century. It is difficult to say whether they were also outsiders like the Mongoloid Ahoms who occupied Assam in the first quarter of the same century.[5] It may be pointed out here that the attempt to prove the antiquity of the Tripurā state from epic and Purāṇic references to a locality called Tripura or Tripurī is unwarranted. Ancient Tripurī is the modern Tewar near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. The

and unfortunate. The date of Bhandarkar's No. 1590 reads *Samva(Saṁva)t 30+2 Pauṣa-di 20+5*, the symbol for 30 being written by a cursive form of the usual *la* sign.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313ff.
2. *Journ. As Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951, pp. 83ff.
3. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1112; *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 286ff.
4. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1113. For the Mehār plate of the same king dated Śaka 1156 and his 4th regnal year, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182ff. Elsewhere we have explained away the use of the Śaka era in one of Madanapāla's records from South Bihar. Śaka 1059 in the Govindpur inscription (Bhandarkar's No. 1105) should be similarly explained.
5. See Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, pp. 70ff. It may be noted that the Thai-Shan word *phā* (king), suffixed to the names of the Ahom kings, also formed the latter part of the names of the early kings of Tripurā. It later gave way to the Sanskrit word *māṇikya*.

name Tripurā is apparently a Sanskritized form of the tribal name Tiprā borne by the aboriginal people inhabiting the eastern fringe of South-East Bengal, to which the royal family of Tripurā belonged. The claim of the family to be descended from the lunar dynasty of epic fame is similar to the claim of the foreign Gurjara-Pratihāras[1] to have been scions of the solar dynasty of Ayodhyā and of the Dravidian Cālukyas[2] to have descended sometimes from the sun and sometimes from the moon. The descendants of the Mleccha (Mech) Sālastambhas of Assam likewise claimed to be born in the family of Bhagadatta known from the *Mahābhārata*.[3] There are numerous other cases of exactly the same type.[4]

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, it has been already observed that Baḍa-Kāmatā=Baḍ-Kāmtā=Baḍ-kāntā is a village of that name near Comilla in Bangladesh. On consulting one-inch-a-mile Survey of India sheet maps, we have come across the names of certain villages which remind us of some of those mentioned in the inscription. They are all situated in the neighbourhood of Barkanta (79/M/3/A, 1). Gangatiya (79/1/14/B, 2), Chhaikot (79/M/3/A, 1) or Chhayakat (79/1/15/G, 1) and Chairpara (79/1/14/A-B, 3) of the maps may actually represent Gāṅgaṭiyārā, Chāyākoṭa and Cāripāḍā of the inscription. It is, however, difficult to say if the name of Banamalichar (79/M/3/CS; 1/15/C, 1) in the same area has anything to do with the Brāhmaṇa Vanamālin who was the donee of the document.

TEXT[5]

1 Svasti (//*)
Candra[6]-candra-yaśo yasya tridaśair=api
2 gīyate (/*)
śrī-śrī-Vijayamāṇikya-bhu(bhū)paḥ Pā-
3 rtha-sahodaras[7]

1. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 220ff.
2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*), pp. 338ff.
3. P.N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, Introduction, p. 19.
4. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 11ff. For an account of the aboriginal Ṭiprā people, see Hunter, *Stat. Ac. Beng.*, Vol. VI, 1876, pp. 482ff.
5. From the original plate.
6. The reading may also be *candr-ācandra*; but the sign looking like the *ā-mātrā* seems to be a scratch.
7. Read *sahodaraḥ* (//*) 1 *Tan-mātulānī*.

tan-mātulānī viditā Daitya-
4 nārāyaṇa-priyā (/*)
bhūloke kalpa-vall=īva śrī-[1]
5 matī Puṇyavatī satī (//*) 2
Tayā parama-vedaṅga(jña)-
6 m=Ācāryya(ṁ*) Vanamālinaṁ(nam/)
natvā tasmai mahīṁ(hī)datvā(ttā)
7 va(ba)hu-māna-puraḥsaraṁ(ram//) 3
Grāma-Gāṅgaṭiyārā-
8 Cacāmera Chāyākoṭa-Śvadutalā(ḥ/*)
Cāripāḍā-
9 Bharāgāṅgaco-Vaḍakāmatā-sārddham=eva ca (//*)[2] 4
I-
10 māna(mān) vra(bra)hmottaratvena grāmāna(mān) datvā(ttvā)
mano-
11 ramāna(mān/)
bhāvino bhūmi-pālāna[3] te vacanaṁ ve-
12 da-vihitaṁ(tam//) 5
ye bhaviṣyanti bhūpālāḥ sva-vaṁ-
13 śa-para-vaṁśa-jās[4]
=tair=eva dharmmato rakṣyeta[5] dvi-
14 j-o(t*))sṛṣṭa(ṣṭā) vasundharā (//*) 6
tathā ca smṛtiḥ (/*)
Sva-da-
15 ttāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yo hared=vai vasundharāṁ(rām/)
16 sa viṣṭhāyāṁ kṛmi(r*)=bhūtvā pata(cya)te pitṛbhiḥ saha (//*) 7
17 Sa(Śa)ka 1410 terikh[6] Vaisā(śā)khasya 15 pañcadasa(śa)-
18 divase Mahā-Vaiśākhyāṁ.[7]

1. The fourth foot of the verse has one syllable in excess. The metrical error may be rectified if we read *vallī śrī*.
2. The verse has no less than six syllables in excess. As already indicated above, there is no doubt that some of the *a-kār-ānta* consonants in the names of the villages should have to be pronounced as final in accordance with the principles of Bengali pronunciation.
3. It is better to have *bhūmipān prati* instead of °*pālāna te*.
4. Read *vaṁśajāḥ* (/*) *tair=eva*.
5. Read *rakṣyā*.
6. This word is of Arabic origin and points to the expansion of Muslim influence in the dominion of the Tripurā kings before the date of the record.
7. Read *Vaiśākhyām* //

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) स्वस्ति (।।*)
चन्द्र-चन्द्र-यशो यस्य त्रिदशैरपि (२) गीयते (।*)
श्री-श्री-विजयमणिक्य-भु(भू)पः पा(३)र्थ सहोहर(: ।।*) १
स्त(त) न्मातुलानी विदिता दैत्य(४)नारायण-प्रिया (।*)
भू-लोके कल्प-वल्लीव श्री(५)मती पुण्यवती सती (।।*) २
तया परम-वेदज्ञ(ज्ञ)(६) माचार्य्य(र्य्यं) वनमालिनं(नम् ।)
नत्वा तस्मै महीं(ही)दत्वा(त्ता)(७) व(ब)हु-मान-पुरःसरं(रम् ।।*) ३
ग्राम-गङ्गटियारा-(८)चचामेर-छायाकोट-शदुतला(: ।*)
चारिपाड़ा-(९) भरागाङ्गचो-बड़कामता-सार्द्धमेव च (।।*) ४
इ(१०)मान(न्) व्र(ब्र)ह्मो तरत्वेन ग्रामान(न्) दत्वा(त्त्वा) मनो(११)रमान(न् ।)
भाविनो भूमिपाला(न्) नते(प्रति) वचनं वे(१२)द-विहितं(तम् ।।) ५
ये भविष्यन्ति भूपालाः स्व-वं(१३) श-पर-वंशजा(: ।*)
स्तै(तै)रेव धर्म्मतो रक्ष्येतं(क्षेद्) द्वि(१४)जो(त्*)सृष्ट(।*) बसुन्धरा (।।*) ६
तथा च स्मृतिः (।*)
स्व-द(१५)त्तां पर-दत्तां वा वो हरेद्वै वसुन्धरां(राम् ।)
(१६) स विष्ठायां कृमि(र्*) भूत्वा पत(च्य)ते पितृभिः सह (।।*) ७
(१७) स(श)क १४१० तेरिख वैसा(शा)खस्य १५ पञ्चदस(श)-
(१८) दिवसे महावैशाख्यां(ख्याम् ।।)

No. 2. Mahārāṇī Stone Inscriptions of Vijayamāṇikya (II), Śaka 1470 (1548 A.D.)

The village now called Mahārāṇī (literally, 'the great queen') lies about six miles from Udaypur. A door-frame, shaped like a pointed arch and made out of a single piece of stone, was examined by the author there in 1952 in the compound of a villager's house. The stone bears no less than seventy-six lines of writing. The Mahārāṇī inscriptions were copied by the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India and were noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Survey for the year 1921-22, p. 115, and also in D.R. Bhandarkar's *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.* (Appendix to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. XIX-XXIII), No. 1732. It may be noted that Bhandarkar's work does not recognise any other inscription from the former Tripurā State apparently because the Bengali publications, such as C.V. Bhattacharya's *Śilālipisaṁgraha*, K.P. Sen Vidyābhūṣan's *Śrī-Rājamālā* (Vols. I-III) and S.C. Deb Burman's *Tripurār Smṛti*, containing the transcripts of some stone and copper-plate records of the State were not available to him.

It has been said that there are altogether four records on the stone; but the statement is not accurate. The lines of writing are no doubt found arranged in four places, viz. lower left (thirty lines), upper left (eight lines), upper right (eight lines) and lower right (thirty lines) parts of the stone; but, while the thirty lines at the lower left offer four stanzas, regularly numbered, 1, 2, 3 and 4, and the same number of lines at the lower right represent another group of four verses similarly numbered from 1 to 4, the eight lines at the upper left and the same number of lines at the upper right together offer six verses of a single composition, which are divided equally between the two places but marked consecutively from 1 to 6. It may therefore be said that there are on the stone altogether three records, although they all speak practically of the same subject and bear the same date.

These three records at the left, top and right of the stone door-frame may be marked, for the sake of convenience, as A, B and C. Very probably the three versified records were the compositions of three different poets at the court of king Vijayamāṇikya (II) of Tripurā, who was responsible for the incision of the inscription. The first line of the writing both at the upper left and right is considerably damaged. The composition of some of the stanzas is of a poor style.

The inscription records the construction of a temple of the god Viṣṇu (called Gopīnātha in record B and *Goparūpa*, i.e. Kṛṣṇa, in record A), together with his consorts, the goddesses Śrī (Lakṣmī) and Vāṇī (Sarasvatī),[1] by the Tripurā king Vijayamāṇikya and his queen Lakṣmīdevī. The locality where the temple was built is called Lakṣmīpura in record B apparently after the name of the queen Lakṣmīdevī. Its present name Mahārāṇī suggests that it was really called Mahārāṇī-Lakṣmīpura. In the same record, the god is said to have been made of *aṣṭa-dhātu*, or the mixture of eight metals, viz. gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, brass, iron and steel, as indicated by the well-known verse:

svarṇam rūpyaṁ ca tāmraṁ ca raṅgaṁ yaśadam=eva ca/
sīsaṁ lauhaṁ rasaś=c=eti dhātavo='ṣṭau prakīrttitāḥ//[2]

Record A describes how a big slab of stone was dragged out of a

1. The goddess Sarasvatī is regarded in Bengal as Viṣṇu's wife though there are conflicting traditions regarding her in Indian mythology.
2. See Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *aṣṭa.*; cf. Monier-William's *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

river (probably the Gomatī) by the king to make the door-frame bearing the inscription. All the three records bear the same date, viz., Śaka 1470, full moon of Kārttika, Wednesday. The day corresponds to October 17, 1548 A.D. There was a lunar eclipse on the above date, although it is not mentioned in the inscription. Lakṣmīdevī (elsewhere called Lakṣmībālā), queen of Vijayamāṇikya, is known from several other sources.[1] The palaeography of the present inscription is interesting as it offers very good specimens of the Bengali characters as written in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. The old symbol for the auspicious word *siddham* (*siddhir=astu* or *Oṁ siddhiḥ*), which was called Āñji in Bengali till recent times, is used at the beginning of the records and resembles in shape the figure for *4* as used in them.[2] As expected, there is no distinction between the signs for *ba* and *va*.

We have already indicated above that record A offers four stanzas, record B six and record C four, making a total of fourteen verses in the whole inscription. As, however, will be seen below, in one case in record A two stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre have been regarded as one verse. The text of record A is quoted below.

TEXT[3]

(1) [Symbol.]
Śaraj-jyotsnā-śubhrair=bhuvana tala(2)m=āpūryya sakala-
yaśobhir=vi(3)khyāto nikhila-nṛpa-cūḍāma(4)ṇir=asau /
samā Lakṣmyā devyā ka(5)mala-karay=ānandita-vapū(pu)(6)ś=
ciraṁ jīyāc=chrī-śrī-yuta-Vija(7)yamāṇikya-nṛpatiḥ //1//
Śāke (8) kha-muni-ved-endau Kārttike Bu(Vu) (9)dha-vāsare /
Paurṇamāsyāṁ śubhe (10) lagne ja(yā)te saptadaś āṁśake /
(11) Śrī-śrī-Vijayamāṇikyo Lakṣmyā (12) devyā samaṁ nṛpaḥ /
Viṣṇave go(13)pa-rūpāya prādāt=prāsādam=utta(14)maṁ (mam)
//2//[4]
Ā toyād=bhāra-saṁghair=a(15)ti viṣamataraiḥ siddha-mūlaḥ (16)
pragāḍhaṁ
bhūmer=ākāśa-madhy-ā(17)vadhi-parighaṭitaḥ prastaraiḥ (18) śaila-
tulyaiḥ/
cūḍā-cañcat-pa(19)tākā-kalita-śaśi-kalo vi(20)śvarūpaḥ samantāt=

1. Cf. above, p. 90 and note 1; also *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 73-82.
2. Cf. P.N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 55.
3. From impressions.
4. There are actually two stanzas here.

so=yaṁ prāsā(21)da-rājo jagati vijayate (22) gro(go)pa-rūpasya Viṣṇoḥ //3// (23) Yo=yaṁ prastarara(ko) nadī-raya-ga(24)to dūrāt=samākṛṣya taṁ va(ba)ddhvā (25) dāma-cayair=gaj-āli-valitai(26)r=nnītvā prati-srotasā/ tena (27) dvāram=ath=ākarod=a-sakalaṁ ya(28)sya svayaṁ bhūpatiḥ sa prāsāda-(29)varo vibhāty=atitarāṁ saunda(30)ryya-sāraḥ śriyā //4//

Śaka 1470 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ७ शरज्ज्योत्स्ना-शुभ्रै र्भुवनतल(२)मापूर्य्य सकल-
यशोभिर्वि(३)ख्यातो निखिल-नृप-चूडाम(४)णिरसौ ।
समा लक्ष्म्या देव्या क(५)मल-करयानन्दित-वपू(पु)-
(६) श्चिरं जीयाच्छी-श्रीयुत-विजयमाणिक्य-नृपतिः ॥१॥
शाके (८) ख-मुनि-वेदेन्दौ कार्त्तिके वु(बु)(१)ध-वासरे ।
पौर्णमास्यां शुभे (१०) लग्ने जा(या)ते सप्तदशांशके । (॥१क॥)
(११) श्री-श्री-विजयमाणिक्यो लक्ष्म्या (१२) देव्या समं नृपः ।
विष्णवे गो(१३)परूपाय प्रादान्प्रासादमुत्त(१४)मं(मम्) ॥२॥
आ तोयाद्भार-संघैर(१५)तिविषमतरैः सिद्ध-मूलः (१६) प्रगाढं
भूमेराकाश-मध्या(१७)वधि-परिघटितः प्रस्तरैः (१८) शैल-तुल्यैः ।
चूडा-चञ्चत्प(१८)ताका-कलित-शशिकलो वि(२०)श्वरूपः समन्ता-
त्सो(ऽ*)यं प्र.सा(२१)द-राजो जगति विजयते (२२) ग्रो(गो)प रूपस्य विष्णोः ॥३॥
(२३) यो(ऽ*)यं प्रस्तर(को) नदी-रय-ग(२४)तो दूरात्समाकृष्य तं
व(ब)द्ध्वा (२५) दाम-चयैर्गजालि-वलितै(२६)र्न्नीत्वा प्रतिस्रोतसा ।
तेन (२७) द्वारमथाकरोदसकलं य(२८)स्य स्वयं भूपतिः
स प्रासाद-(२९)वरो विभात्यतितरां सौन्द(३०)र्य्य-सारः श्रिया ॥४॥
शक १४७० (॥*)

The metres used in the composition of the verses are *Śikhariṇī* in verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh* in verses 2A and 2B, *Sragdharā* in verse 3 and *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in verse 4. It will be seen that the Śaka year, given in figures at the end of the record, has been quoted in the body of it as the year counted by the words *kha=0*, *muni=7*, *veda=4*, and *indu=1*, that is to say, Śaka 1470.

There is no necessity of quoting the full text of the other two records. But portions of them (especially those supplying additional

information) may be quoted for comparison with the text of record A cited above. Record B says:

... ...
Vyoma-dvīpa-samudra-candra-gaṇite māse tathā Kārttike
Kārttikyāṁ Vu(Bu)dha-vāsare su-racita-prāsāda-madhye Hariṁ(riṁ)/
Śrī-Vāṇī-yutam=aṣṭa-dhātu-ghaṭitaṁ Lakṣmyā mahiṣyā samaṁ
śrī-śrīmat=Tripurendra-bhūpati-maṇir=Lakṣmīpure=tiṣṭhipat //3//
... ...
gopa-strīṇāṁ kara-parigataḥ puṇya-puñjasya pāko
Gopīnātho Vijaya-nṛpater=maṅgalaṁ santanotu //4//
yathā Gopīnāthaḥ sakala-nayan-ānanda-jananas=
tathā prāsādo=pi prakṛti-ramaṇīyaḥ kṣiti-tale /
tathā citraiś=citraṁ jayati jagatāṁ mohana-gṛhaṁ
tathā vāpī ramyā Vijaya-nṛpateḥ puṇya-vibhavaiḥ //5//
yāvad=Gaṅgā Madanamathanasy=ottam-āṅge Murārer=
yāvad=gāthā vilasati jane yāvad=Ambhojayoniḥ /
yāvad=Vāṇī Rajanīramaṇo yāvad=ākāśa-deśe
tāvaj=jīyād=Vijaya-nṛpater=eṣa kīrtti-pracāraḥ //6//

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

... ...
व्योम-द्वीप-समुद्र-चन्द्र-गणिते मासे तथा कार्त्तिके
कार्त्तिक्यां वु(बु)ध-वासरे सुरचित-प्रासाद-मध्ये हरिं(रिम्) ।
श्री-वाणी-युतमष्ट-धातु-घटितं लक्ष्म्या महिष्या समं
श्री-श्रीमत्तिपुरेन्द्र-भूपति-मणिर्लक्ष्मीपुरे(ऽ*)तिष्ठिपत् ॥३॥
... .
गोप-स्त्रीणां कर-परिगतः पुण्य-पुञ्जस्य पाको
गोपी-नाथो विजय-नृपतेर्मङ्गलं सन्तनोतु ॥४॥
यथा गोपीनाथः सकल-नयनानन्द-जनन-
स्तथा प्रासादो(ऽ*)पि प्रकृति-रमणीयः क्षितितले ।
तथा चित्रैश्चित्रं जयति जगतां मोहन-गृहं
तथा वापी रम्या विजय-नृपतेः पुण्य-विभवैः ॥
यावद्गङ्गा मदनमथनस्योत्तमाङ्गे मुरारे-
यावद्गाथा विलसति जने यावदम्भोजयोनिः ।
यावद्वाणी रजनीरमणो यावदाकाशदेशे
तावज्जीयाद्विजय-नृपतेरेष कीर्त्ति-प्रचारः ॥६॥

The date has been given here as the year counted by the words *vyoman*=0, *dvīpa*=7, *samudra*=4, and *candra*=1, that is to say, Śaka 1470. The metres used are *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in verse 3, *Mandākrāntā* in verse 4, *Śikhariṇī* in verse 5 and again *Mandākrāntā* in verse 6.

A few passages of record C, which does not contain any new information that may be utilised by the students of history, are also quoted below.

... ...

ciraṁ jīyāc=chrī-śrī-yuta-Vijayamāṇikya nṛpatiḥ //1//
Śāke viṣṇupad-āśva-śakra-gaṇite Rākā-tithau Kārttike
jā(yā)te saptadaś-āṁsake Vu(Bu)dha-dine lagne Bharaṇyāṁ śubhe /
śubhraṁ devakulaṁ Murāri-caraṇe Vāṇyā Śriyā sthāpite(taṁ)
śrī-śrīmad-Vijayeśvareṇa vidhinā Lakṣmyā mahiṣyā samaṁ(mam) //2//
ñ=ciraṁ
śrī-śrīmad-Vijay-āvanipatir=asau prāpnotu rājya-śriyaṁ(yam) //3//

nityaṁ śrī-Vijay-āvaniśitur = ayaṁ kīrtti-dhvajo rājatāṁ(tām) //4//
Śaka 1470 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

चिरं जीयाच्छ्री-श्रीयुत-विजयमाणिक्य-नृपति: ॥१॥
शाके विष्णुपदाश्व-शक्र–गणिते राका-तिथौ कार्त्तिके
जा(या)ते सप्तदशांशके वु(बु)ध-दिने लग्ने भरण्यां शुभे ।
शुभ्रं देवकुलं मुरारि-चरणे वाण्या श्रिया स्थापिते(तं)
श्री-श्रीमद्विजयेश्वरेण विधिना लक्ष्म्या महिष्या समं(मम्) ॥२॥
... ... ञ्चिरं
श्री-श्रीमद्विजयावनिपतिरसौ प्राप्नोतु राज्य-श्रियं(यम्) ॥३ ।
नित्यं श्री-विजयावनिशितुरयं कीर्त्ति ध्वजो राजतां(ताम्) ॥४॥
शक १४७० (॥*)

This portion gives the date in figure at the end, while in the body of the record the year of the Śaka era is indicated by the words *viṣṇu-pada*=0, *aśva*=7, and *śakra*=14, that is to say, Śaka 1470. The metres used in the above section are *Śikhariṇī* in verse 1 and *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in verses 2, 3 and 4.

No. 3. Texts of Five Grants of Govindamāṇikya
A—dated Tripurā Year 1070 (1667 A.D.)

Siddham symbol. Svasti(/*) Śrī-śrī-yuta-Govindamāṇikya-viṣama-samara-vijayi-mahāmahodayi-rāja(jā)nām=ādeśo=yaṁ śrī-kāraka(ku)-na-varga(rge) vijārate='nyata(nyat) paraṁ rājadhāni(nī) Hastināpur sarkār Udaypur pargaṇe Udaypur mauje Candrapur gaeraha sāilā

o boruwā tulāpuruṣ o mahā-annadān bābat sūryagrahaṇ kāle ँ prīte viṁśati-droṇ jami śrī-Dvija-Ratnanārāyaṇ puruhītke brahmottar dewā gela/ehi jamir māl-khājānā bheṭ-begār vīrasiṁh-ādi samast-āṅka niṣed/ehi jami āmal kābej kariyā putra-pautr-ādi-krame āśīrvvād-pūrvvak param-sukhe bhog tachrup karite rahuk/iti san 1070 terikh 25 Vaiśākh/

Jāe	*Jami*
Sāilā	
Mau° Candrapur	1/-
Khilpāḍā	12/-
Basuwāpāḍā	1/-
Soṇāmuḍā	1/-
Ḍiyārā	1/-
	16/-
Boruwā	
Nalgaïr-Haṁsa-dhvajer to(ta)lā	2/-
Tinnāliā	1/-
Chāgalnāiyā	1/-
	4/-

Viṁśati droṇ jami mātra /

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

ए स्वस्ति (।*) श्री-श्रीयुत-गोविन्दमाणिक्य-विषम-समर-विजयि-महामहोदयि-राज(जा)नामादेशो-(ऽ*)यं श्रीकारक(कु)न-वर्ग(गें) विराजतेऽन्यत(त्) परं राजधानि(नी) हस्तिनापुर सरकार उदयपुर परगणे उदयपुर मौजे चन्द्रपुर गएरह साइला ओ वो(बो)रुवा तुलापुरुप ओ महा-अन्नदान वाव(बाब)-त सूर्य-ग्रहण-काले ँ प्रीते विंशति-द्रोण जमि श्री-द्विजरत्ननारायण पुरुहीतके ब्र(ब्र)ह्मोत्तर देवा गेल। एहि जमिर माल-खाजाना ओ भेट-वे(बे)गार वीरसिंहादि समस्ताङ्क निषेद। एहि जमि आमल कावे-(बे)ज करिया पुत्र-पौत्रादि-क्रमे आशीर्व्वाद-पूर्वक परम-सुखे भोग तछरुप करिते रहुक। इति सन १०७० तेरिख २५ वैशाख।

जाए	जमि
साइला	
मौ० चन्द्रपुर	१/
खिलपाड़ा	१२/
व(ब)सुव(वा)पाड़ा	१/
सोणामुड़ा	१/
डियारा	१/
	१६/

वो(बो)रुया(वा)	
नलगइर हंसध्वजेर तो(त)ला	२/
तिननालिया	१/
छागलनाइया	१/
	४/

विंशति द्रोण जमिमात्र।

N.B. Of the words adopted from Muslim administration, *kārkun* means a clerk or registrar or one responsible for financial or revenue collections; *jāy* means 'an account'; *Mau°*=*Maujā*; *bābat*=on account of. Among other words, *prīte*=Sanskrit *prītaye*; *aṅka*=sums; *talā*=locality which lay here in the temple area of Haṁsadhvaja. The sign of *candrabindu* indicates *Īśvara* or the deity whose name was generally written at the top of the document. *Sāilā*=Sāli-producing; *boruwā*=boro-producing.

B—dated Tripurā Year 1077 (1674 A.D.)

Siddham symbol. Svasti (/*) Śrī-śrī-yuta-Govindamāṇikyadeva-viṣama-samara-vijayi-mahāmahodayi-rāja(jā)nām=ādeśo='yaṁ śrī-kārakona-varge virājate='nyata(nyat) rājadhāni(nī) Hastināpur sarkār Udaypur pargaṇe Meherkul Ekdil Ka(Kā)jire 63 śan ādhā-hāsilā ādhā-jaṅgalā ded droṇ jami āymā dichilen (/*) tān maute tān bhāi o putra śa(aṁś ā)nusāre mauje Tetaiyādā hāsilāt ¾ bāra kāṇi bhūmi śrī-Kāji Hoṃsan o śrī-Sukur Māhāmadre āymā dilām (/*) nij hātā(t-hā)le cās kariyā doy(wā) kariā sukhe rahauk (/*) pāṃcā-pañcak bheṭ-begār ityādi mānā(/*) iti san 1077 tā° 19 Kātti(rtti)k /

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

ए स्वस्ति (।*) श्रीश्रीयुत-गोविन्दमाणिक्यदेव-विषय-समर-विजयि-महामहोदयि-राज(जा)नामादेशो(s*)यं श्री-कारकोन-वर्गे विराजतेऽन्यत(त्) राजधानि(नी) हस्तिनापुर परगणे मेहेरकुल एकदिलक(का)जिरे ६३ सन आधा-हासिला आधा-जङ्गला देड़ द्रोण जमि आयमा दिछिलेन (।*) तान मौते तान भाइ ओ पुत्र श(अंशा)नुसारे मौजे तेतंयाड़ा हासिलात ३/४ वार काणि भूमि श्री-काजि होंसन ओ श्री-सुकुर माहामदरे आयमा दिलाम (।*) निज हाता(त-हा)ले चास करिया सुखे रहौक (।*) पांचापञ्चक भेट-वे-गार इत्यादि माना (।*) इति सन १०७७ ता० १६ कात्ति(त्ति)क ।

N.B. The land was partly cultivated and partly jungly. It was previously granted to Ekdil Kāji in San 63 (i.e., Tripurā year 1063), not San 33 (see *A.R. Ind. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. A-13). On his death, similar land was re-granted in favour of his brother and son. *Tā°*=*tārīkh*.

C—dated Tripurā Year 1079 and Śaka 1598 (1676 A.D.)

Svasti (/*) Śrī-śrī-yuta-Govindamāṇikyadeva-viṣama-samara-vijayi-mahāmahodayi-rāja(jā)nām=ādeśo=yaṁ śrī-kārakona-varge virājate='nyatat(nyat) rājadhānī Hastināpur sarkār Udaypur pargaṇe Meherkul mauje Phultalī hāsilā 6½ chay droṇ āṣṭa kāṇī bhūmi prīte brahmottar śrī-Śukdev Śarmāke dilām (/*) ehi bhūmi nij haste hāl cās karāiyā param sukhe bhog karuk (/*) ehi bhūmir māl-khājānā o pā(ṃ*)cā-

pañcak bheṭ-begār vīrasiṁha sama[sta mā]nā (/*) iti san 1079 terikh 11 Kārttik (/*) Śaka 1598 terikh 1 Caitra (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

৭ स्वस्ति (।*) श्रीश्रीयुत-गोविन्दमाणिक्यदेव-विषम-समर-विजयि-महामहोदयि-राज(जा)नामादेशो-(ऽ*)य श्री-कारकोन-वर्गे विराजतेऽन्यत (त्) राजधानी हस्तिनापुर सरकार उदयपुर परगणे मेहेरकुल मौजे फुलतली हासिला ६½ छयद्रोण आष्टकाणि भूमि ँ प्रीते ब्रह्मोत्तर श्री-शुकदेवशर्मा के दिलाम (।*) एहि भूमि निजहस्ते हाल चास कराइया परमसुखे भोग करुक (।*) एहि भूमिर माल-खजाना ओ पा-(पाँ)चा-पञ्चक भेट-वेगार वीरसिंह सम[स्त मा]ना (।*) इति सन १०७९ तेरिख ११ कार्त्तिक (।*) शक १५९८ तेरिख १ चैत्र (।*)

N.B. Of the two dates, the first relates to the actual grant and the second to the issue of the document. See the dates of No. D below.

D—dated Tripurā Year 1080 and Śaka 1599 (1677 A.D.)

Siddham symbol. Śrī-śrī-yuta-Govindamāṇikyadeva-viṣama-samara-vijayi-mahāmahodayi-padapadmānām=ādeśo='yaṁ śrī-kārakona-varge virājate='nyata(nyat) rājadhānī Hastināpur sarkār Udaypur pargaṇe Meherkul mauje Pāṃcthupī ajjaṅgalā jamā khārij ½ ād-droṇ bhūmi Srī-Gaṅgānārayaṇ Paṇḍitere brahmottar dilām (/*) nij hāt hāle cās kariyā ँ prīte param sukhe bhog karuk (/*) ehi bhūmir pañcak bheṭ-begār ityādi mānā (/*) iti san 1080 terikh 19 Māgh /

Śaka 1599 (/*) San 1080 te° 11 Yāsin (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

৭ श्रीश्रीयुत-गोविन्दमाणिक्यदेव-विषम-समर-विजयि-महामहोदयि-पद-पद्मानामादेशोऽयं श्री-कारकोन-वर्गे विराजतेऽन्यत(त्) राजधानी हस्तिनापुर सरकार उदयपुर परगणे मेहेरकुल मौजे पांचथुपी अज्जङ्गला जमा खारिज १/२ आद द्रोण भूमि श्री-गङ्गानारायण-पण्डितेरे दिलाम (।*) निज हात-हाले चास करिया ँ प्रीते परम सुखे भोग करौक (।*) एहि भूमिर पञ्चक भेट-वेगार इत्यादि माना (।*) इति सन १०८० तेरिख १९ माघ। शक १५९९ (।*) सन १०८० ते० ११ यासि(आश्वि)-न (।*)

N.B. The word *ajjaṅgalā* means 'entirely jungly'; *jamā khārij* is the same as *khārij jamā* meaning 'an area separated from the rental of the State' (Sircar, *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts*, p. 165). *Yāsin=Āśvin*; *te°=tārīkh.*

E—dated Tripurā Year 1083 (1680 A.D.)

Siddham symbol. Svasti (/*) Śrī-śrī-yuta-Govindamāṇikyadeva-viṣama-samara-vijayi-mahāmahodayi-rāja(jā)nām=āde[śo='yaṁ] śrī-

kārakona-vage(rge) virājate=nyata(nyat) rājadhānī Hastināpur sarkār Udaypur pargaṇe [Meherkul] mauje Pāṃcthupī ½ ād·droṇ bhūmi brahmottar Kāmdev Paṇḍite pāiyāchila (/*) akhane sei bhū[mi] [tāhār] beṭā śrī-Jādu Paṇḍitere dilām prite brahmottar (/*) ehi bhūmi nij hāt hāle cās karia(ā) sukhe bhog karauk (/*) ehār pāṃcā·pāñcak bheṭ-begār ityādi mānā (/*) iti 1083 terikh 22 Kārtti(rtti)k (/*).

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

० स्वस्ति (।*) श्रीश्रीयुत-गोविन्दमाणिक्यदेव-विषम-समर-विजयि-महामहोदयि-राज(जा)नामा-दे[शोऽय] श्री कारकोन-वगे(र्गे) विराजतेऽन्यत(त्) राजधानी हस्तिनापुर सरकार उदयपुर परगणे [मेहेरकुल] मौजे पाँचथुपी १/२ आद-द्रोण भूमि ब्रह्मोत्तर कामदेव-पण्डिते पाइयाछिल (।*) अखने सेइ भू[मि] [ताहार] वेटा श्री-जादु-पण्डितेरे दिलाम प्रीते ब्रह्मोत्तार (।*) एइ भूमि निज हात हाले चास करिअ(या) सुखे भोग करौक (।*) एहार पाँचा·पञ्चक भेट-वेगार इत्यादि माना (।*) इति १०८३ तेरिख २२ कात्ति(त्ति)क (।*)

No. 4. A Copper-plate Grant of the Tripurā Kings, Śaka 1607 (1685-86 A.D.)

Some photographs received by the author for examination from K.P. Dutta, then Deputy Director of Education, Tripurā, included one of an interesting document. This is a thin copper-plate grant bearing writing on the obverse only and composed in Sanskrit in eight stanzas with a few small passages in prose. The writing, which is late medieval Bengali-Assamese, begins with *Śrī-Durgā* at the left corner and the engraving of four seals above the right half of the writing. The style of the composition is poor. Often we have repetition of the same or similar expressions. Thus the adjective *dhanya* is applied to Kalyāṇadeva in line 3 and to Govindadeva in line 7, while the word *tuṣṭyai* occurs in lines 3 and 12 with *tuṣṭy-artham* in line 14. Likewise, the epithet *dānta* is applied to no less than three kings—to Govinda-deva in line 5, to Kalyāṇadeva in line 7 and to Ratnadeva (II) in line 13.

The inscription records the grant of Aulāyisāra in Meherakula by the Vaiṣṇava king Kalyāṇa of 'Tripura' (lines 2-3) in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Rāmanārāyaṇa. The gift village was bounded in the north by Lāmacarthā, in the south by Kādipāḍā, in the east by Kāṣṭhālī and Taleḍaḍā, and in the west by Sāmatalā. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full moon of Vaiśākha (*rādha*). The king also granted to the same donee 20 *droṇas* of land in another village called Deśāvaska (lines 6-7) in the Śaka year indicated by the

chronogram *vidhu-vasu-śara·bhū* (i.e. Śaka 1581) for the pleasure of the god Murāri (Viṣṇu). Both the grants were renewed by the king's successors, first by his son king Govinda (lines 4, 7-8), again by his grandson king Rāma (lines 5-6, 8-9) and finally by his great-grandson Ratna (II) in favour of the same donee. In line 11, the Śaka date is repeated in figures and the donee's name is also repeated. The lunar eclipse on the Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā in Śaka 1581 occurred on Tuesday, the 26th April, 1659 A.D. Two benedictory and minatory stanzas occur in lines 9-11.

Lines 12-14 state that the Vaiṣṇava king Ratna (II) renewed the grant made by his ancestors Kalyāṇa and others, for the pleasure of the god Cakrapāṇi (Viṣṇu), in the Śaka year expressed in the chronogram *aga·abhra-aṅga-candra* (i.e. 1607), given separately in figures as Śaka 1607, in favour of the two sons of the original donee Rāmanārāyaṇa, viz. Jayarāma and Viśvanātha.

The interest of the record, issued during the reign of Ratna II, lies in the fact that it records a grant of land originally made by king Kalyāṇamāṇikya of Tripurā in the Śaka year 1581 (1669-70 A.D.) shortly before his death which took place during the same year, and that it was consecutively renewed by his son Govindamāṇikya, his grandson Rāmamāṇikya and his great-grandson Ratnamāṇikya II. The date of the renewal by the last king, viz. Śaka 1607 (1685-86 A.D.), which was the year of his accession, may suggest that old grants made by the earlier rulers had to be renewed by the new king at the time of or shortly after accession.

The epigraph has an unorthodox beginning. It was expected to have begun with a *maṅgala* stanza, but actually begins with the boundaries of the gift village, which are expected about the end. It may be supposed that the fashion of continuing the writing of the text in the upper part of a document, which is noticed in some late medieval documents of other parts of India, has been followed here or was followed on the original copied later on the copper-plate. However, the continuation of a text usually begins rather abruptly, and that is not the case with the present record. As already indicated above, the first verse of the document mentions the names of villages lying on the north, south, east and west of the gift village of Aulāyisāra.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: verses 1, 5-6 *Upajāti*; verses 2-4, 7 *Sragdharā*; verse 8 *Anuṣṭubh.*]

Śrī-Durgā (//*)[2]

1 Yad-uttarasyāṁ diśi Lāmacarthā
yad-dakṣiṇasyāṁ diśi Kādipādā /
yat-pūrve Kāṣṭhāli(lī) Taleḍadā ca
yat-paścime Sāma-

2 talā samasthāt //

Prādād=Aulāyisāraṁ Tripura-narapatir=vīra-Kalyāṇadevo
grāmaṁ Meheraku(kū)lasya Hari-pada-manā rā-

3 dha-candra-grahe taṁ(tam) //

bhog-ārthaṁ tat-sut-ādeḥ kṣitisura-maṇaye Rāmanārāyaṇāya
dhanyaḥ prostsṛjya tuṣṭyai vidhu-vasu-

4 śara-bhu-yukta-śāke Murāreḥ // 2

Tāta-prattaṁ dadau taṁ tad anu narapatir=dhīra-Govindadevas=
tat-paścā(d*)=bhūmi-

5 pālo dharaṇipati-varo dānta-kānto vadānyaḥ /
śrī śrīmad-Rāmadevaḥ sa-giri-vana-mahī-maulī-

6 māṇikya-śobhī

grāmaṁ taṁ pūrva-dattaṁ pitṛ-caraṇa-rato dhārmmiko='dāc=ca
tasmmai //0// 3

Prādāt=tasmai suśīlo dvija-

7 caraṇa-rato dānta-Kalyāṇadevo

Daiśāvaskīṁ sucetāḥ suvimala-mataye viṁśati-droṇa-bhūmiṁ-
(mim) /

dhanyo Go-

8 vindadevaḥ punar=api ca dadau Rāmanārāyaṇāya
tāṁ śrī-śrī-Rāmadeva-nṛpatir=anudade Viṣṇu-bhakto hi ta-

9 smai—//0// 4

Sva-gotra-jātaḥ para-gotra-jo vā mad-datta-bhūmer=yadi nāśa-
karttā /

bhavet sa ghore narake nimagno

10 bhaviṣyati svaiḥ puruṣaiḥ samañ=ca // 5

1. From a photograph.
2. At the left corner of the plate.

Maddatta-bhūmiṁ yadi bhūpa-siṁhā
rakṣanti kecid=Dhari-pāda-cittāḥ /
puṭ-āñjali-
11 s=tān praṇamāmi nityaṁ
madīya-pūrvaiḥ puruṣaiḥ samañ=ca // 6
Śak-āvdāḥ(bdāḥ) // 1581 // Śrī-Rāmanārāyaṇāya /
12 Dattā yā pūrva-jaiḥ svair=Hari-caraṇa-paraiḥ(rair=) grāma-buūmī Murāres=
tuṣṭyai Kalyāṇadev-ādibhir=akhila-guro Rāmanārā-
13 yaṇāya /
prādāt[1] śrī Ratnadevo nṛpa-kula·tilako Viṣṇu-vinyasta-cetāḥ
śānto dāntaḥ suśīlas=Tripura-narapatis=tat-sutā-
14 bhyāṁ punas=tām // 7
Jayarāmāya viprāya Viśvanāthāya c=ādadat (/*)
tuṣṭy-arthaṁ Cakrapāṇes=tu Śāke='g-ābhr-āṅga-candrake // 8
Śaka 1607 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

श्री-दुर्गा (।।*)
(१) यदुत्तरस्यां दिशि लामचर्था
यद्दक्षिणस्यां दिशि कादिपाड़ा ।
यत्पूर्वेकाष्ठालि(ली) तलेडड़ा च
यत्पश्चिमे साम(२)तला समस्थात् ।।१
प्रादादौलायिसारं त्रिपुर-नरपतिर्वीर-कल्याणदेवो
ग्रामं मेहेरकु(कू)लस्य हरि-पद-मन्ना रा(३)ध-चन्द्र-ग्रहे तं(तम्) ।
भोगार्थं तत्सुतादेः क्षितिसुर-मणये रामनारायणाय धन्यः
प्रोत्सृज्य तुष्ट्यै विधु-वसु-(४)शर-भू-युक्त-शाके मुरारेः ।।२
तात-प्रत्तं ददौ तं तदनु नरपतिर्धीर-गोविन्ददेव-
स्तत्पश्चा(द्*)भूमि(५)पालो धरणिपति-वरो दान्त-कान्त-वदान्यः ।
श्रीश्रीमद्रामदेवः स-गिरि-वन-मही-मौलि-(६)माणिक्य-शोभी
ग्रामं तं पूर्व-दत्त पितृ-चरण-रतो धार्म्मिको(ऽ*)दाच्च तस्मै ।।०।।३
प्रादात्तस्मै सुशीलो द्विज-(७)चरण-रतो दान्त-कल्याणदेवो
दैशावस्कीं सुचेताः सुविमल-मतये विंशति-द्रोण-भूमिं(मिम्) ।
धन्यो गो(८)विन्ददेवः पुनरपि च ददौ रामनारायणाय तं
श्री-श्री-रामदेव नृपतिरनुददे विष्णु-भक्तो हि त(९)स्मै— ।।०।।४
स्व-गोत्र-जातः पर-गोत्र-जो वा
मद्दत्त-भूमेर्यदि नाश-कर्त्ता ।

1. Read *prādāc=chrī.*

भवेत्स घोरे नरके निमग्नो
(१०) भविष्यति स्वैः पुरुषैः समञ्च ॥५
मद्दत-भूमिं यदि भूप-सिंहा
रक्षन्ति केचिद्धरि-पाद-चित्ताः ।
पुटाञ्जलि(११)स्तान् प्रणमामि नित्यं
मदीय-पूर्वैः पुरुषैः समञ्च ॥६
शकाब्दाः(ब्दाः) ॥१५८१॥ श्रीरामनारायणाय ।
(१२)दत्ता या पूर्वजैः स्वैर्हरि-चरण-परैः(र्) ग्राम-भूमी मुरारे-
स्तुष्ट्यै कल्याणदेवादिभिरखिल-गुरो रामानारा(१३)यणाय ।
प्रादात्(च्)श्री(छी)-रत्नदेवो नृप-कुल-तिलको विष्णु-विन्यस्त-चेताः
शान्तो दान्तः सुशीलस्त्रिपुर नरपतिस्तत्सुता(१४)भ्यां पुनस्ताम् ॥७
जयरामाय विप्राय विश्वनाथाय चाददत्(।*)
तुष्ट्यर्थं चक्रपाणेस्तु शाकेऽगाभ्राङ्क-चन्द्रके ॥८
शक १६०७ (॥*)

No. 5. Dutyār Bāḍi (Udaypur) Inscription of Śaka 1621 (1699 A.D.)

Dutyār Bāḍi (literally 'the temple of Dutyā or Duittā') is the name of a small dilapidated temple at Udaypur. There is an inscribed stone slab fixed above its door. This slab, like most other stone inscriptions found in Tripurā, has suffered considerably from the peeling off of a layer here and there rendering the proper decipherment of the whole record almost impossible. Besides the unsatisfactory quality of the stone, the inscription suffered from the encroachment of the roots of a tree that had grown near it in a crevice of the structure. But, as early as 1904, C.V. Bhattacharya, while referring to the inscription in his *Śilālipisaṁgraha* (Bengali), which is a collection of the stone inscriptions of Tripurā, admitted his inability to read even a word of the writing. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions does not notice any of the inscriptions transcribed in this book as we have already pointed out.

There are traces of nine lines of writing, some of which have almost completely broken away, while a number of letters have partially or completely peeled off in all the other lines of the record. On a careful examination of the inscription, however, I found that several passages in lines 2-5 could be quite satisfactorily deciphered. Some of these passages throw welcome light on the builder of the temple and on the date of its construction.

The name of the temple shows that the person responsible for its construction was one Dutyā or Duittā. Pandit C.V. Bhattacharya

and others were in doubt whether the above personal name was a local modification of the name of Daityanārāyaṇa, who was a general of king Vijayamāṇikya (II, 16th century A.D.), or of the lady Dvitīyā Thākurāṇī who was a daughter of *Yuvarāja* Balibhīmanārāyaṇa, maternal uncle of Ratnamāṇikya II and brother-in-law of king Rāmamāṇikya (second half of the 17th century A.D., a copper-plate and a lithic record of his time being dated respectively in Śaka 1581=1669 A.D. and Śaka 1603=1681 A.D.). This confusion is due to the fact that *dutyā* or *duittā* is the local modification of both the Sanskrit words *daitya* and *dvitīyā*. However, the second of the alternative suggestions appears to be supported by my reading of the record, damaged though it is.

The inscription begins with a stanza in the *Sragdharā* metre which ends with the numerical figure *1*, placed between two double *daṇḍas*, in the first half of line 4. Of this verse, I have succeeded in reading in line 2 of the passage *°s=tad=anuja-Sujano=bhūj=jaga°* and in line 3, *śrī-Dvitīyā* U U U *guṇa-cavena*. This clearly introduces a lady named Dvitīyā who may have been intimately related to a person named Sujana. After the figure *1* between the double *daṇḍas*, indicating the end of the first verse of the epigraph, we have the passage *Śāke som-āśvin arttu-kṣiti-pariganite* which represents the beginning of another stanza in the same metre and undoubtedly refers to the date of the construction of the temple in question. In the above passage indicating a year of the Śaka era, *soma*=one, *āśvina* (literally, 'related to the Aśvins')=two, *ṛtu*=six and *kṣiti*=one, which, according to the principle *aṅkānāṁ vāmato gatiḥ*, would give the Śaka year 1621 corresponding to 1699 A.D. Although little definite can be deduced from the record regarding the identity of the lady named Dvitīyā who built the temple, now called Dutyār Bāḍi, in 1699 A.D., it will be seen that her name and date do not go against her identification with a daughter of Balibhīmanārāyaṇa, a contemporary of king Rāmamāṇikya, one of those inscriptions is dated in 1681 A.D.

The passage that I have succeeded in deciphering in line 5 of the inscription reads *dhyāyanti nityaṁ* which probably referred to the deity installed in the temple for worship.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

— — — — U— —UUUUUU — — U — — U — —

— — — — U — — स्तदनुज सुजनो(s*) भूच्जग — U — —

— — — श्रीद्वितीया UUU गुणचयेन U — — U — —
— — — —U — —UUU UUU — — U — —U — — ॥१॥
शके सोमाश्विनर्त्तु-क्षिति-परिगणिते — U — — U — —
— —ध्यायन्ति नित्यं UUUUUU — — U — — U — — (।*)
... ...

No. 6. Texts of Two Grants of Kṛṣṇamāṇikya
A—dated Śaka 1689 (1767 A.D.)

1 Svasti (/*)
Yasyā bhūmer=ddakṣiṇato Devagrāma iti śrutiḥ (/*)
Titās-ākhya-nadī paścād=Durgāpur-ākhya uttare (//*) 1
Pūrvvasyā-

2 m=acal-oddeṣo(śo) madhye ca dīrghikā-dvayaṁ(yam) /
tat-tīre sthāpito devo Rādhāmohana-saṅga(saṁjña)kaḥ (//*) 2
Lakṣmīnā-

3 rāyāṇas=tatra tayoḥ [pū]j-ārtham=eva hi /
dīrghikā-dvaya-kedāre ye vasanti ca mānavāḥ (/*)
teṣāṁ karaṁ pakṣa-mitāṁ

4 droṇa-bhūmiñ=ca [śā]śvatīṁ(tam) (//) 3
prādāt(dāc) śrī-Kṛṣṇadevas=Tripura-kulamaṇir=dāna-dharmmeṣu dakṣaḥ

Śāke='ṅk-āṣṭ-artu-candra-

5 pramita-parigate Māghasya Manvādike (/*)

Rādhāmohana-tuṣṭaye kṛtivaraḥ saṁsāra-bhi(bhī)ty-ākulas=
tasmai vā(bā)hu-va(ba)lena

6 vairi-vanit-ākṣyā(kṣy-a)vdhu(b-dhū)-ta-pād=bhūpatiḥ // 4
sva vaṁśa-jātā ye bhūpā ye kecit para-vaṁśa-jāḥ (/*)
nirayaṁ yāntu te pūrvve(rvvai)r=mmama

7 datta(tti)-vināśakāḥ // 5
mad-datta(tti)-pālana-karā bhūpā vikhyāta-kīrttayaḥ /
karomi puruṣaiḥ sārddhaṁ praṇāmaṁ tebhya eva hi (//*) 6

8 Śaka 1689 (/*) Śrī-Raghunāth Dās Vre(Vra)javāsi-
Mohantake ī sevāte deyā gelo // : // Bhog karite raha (//*)

Jāe	*Jami*
Mauje Ākhāuḍā	4
Mau° Nārāyaṇpur	5
Mau° Devagrām	5
Mau° Candansār	1
	15

Hāṭ Rādhānagar—

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) स्वरित (।*)
यस्या भूमेर्द्दक्षिणतो देवग्राम इति श्रुतिः (।*)
तितासाख्य-नदी पश्चाद्दुर्गापुराख्य उत्तरे (॥*) १
पूर्व्वस्या(२)मचलोद्देषो(शो) मध्ये च दीर्घिका-द्वयं(यम्)।
तत्तीरे स्थापितो देवो राधामोहन-सङ्ग(संज्ञ)कः (॥*) २
लक्ष्मीना(३)रायणस्तत्र तयोः [पू]जार्थमेव हि।
दीर्घिका-द्वय-केदारे ये वसन्ति च मानवाः (।*)
तेषां करं पक्षमितां (४) द्रोण-भूमिञ्च [शा]श्वतीं(तम्) (॥*) ३
प्रादात्(च्)श्रीकृष्णदेवस्तिपुर-कुलमणिर्दान-धर्म्मेषु दक्षः
शाकेऽङ्काष्टर्तु-चन्द्र-(५)प्रमित-परिगते माघस्य मन्वादिके (।*)
राधामोहन-तुष्टये कृतिवरः संसार-भि(भी)त्याकुल-
स्तस्मै वा(बा)हु-व(ब)लेन (६) वैरि-वनिताक्ष्या(क्ष्य)व्धु(ब्धू)त-पाद्भूपतिः ॥ ४
स्व-वंश-जाता ये भूपा ये केचित् पर-वंशजाः (।*)
निरयं यान्तु ते पूर्व्वे(र्व्वै)र्म्मम (७) दत्ता(त्ति)-विनाशकाः ॥५
मद्दत्ता(त्ति)-पालन-करा भूपा विख्यात-कीर्त्तयः।
करोमि पुरुषैः सार्द्धं प्रणामं तेभ्य एव हि (॥*) ६
(८)शक १६८६ (।*) श्री-रघुनाथदास व्रे(ब्र)जवासि-मोहन्तके
ईसेवाते देया गेलो ॥ : ॥ भोग करिते रह (॥*)

जाए	जमि
मौजे आखाउड़ा	४
मौ० नारायणपुर	५
मौ० देवग्राम	५
मौ० चन्दनसार	१
	१५

हाट राधानगर—

N.B. At Rādhānagar, only the market or market-place was attached to the grant. By the expression *Māghasya Manv-ādike*, *manvantara*,

i.e. the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, may be indicated. *Mau*⁰= *Maujā*.

B—dated Śaka 1689 and Tripurā year 1186 (1767 A.D.)

1 Svati(sti /)
Tetaiā(yā)d-ottare yā ca pūrvve Kṛṣṇapurasya ca (/*)
Jhākanigrāma-dakṣe bhūś=c=Āraṇyapura-paścime (//*) 1

2 Mehārakul-ākhya-deśe[1] tāṁ sa-pad-opari·kīlakāṁ(kām /)
droṇī(ṇa)-pañcadaśa-mitāṁ bhūmiṁ yat(taiḥ) saha
kīlakī(kaiḥ //) 2

3 Jagannāthāya devāya sevāyai hṛṣṭa-mānasaḥ /
bhūpaḥ śrī-Kṛṣṇamāṇikyadevo=dād=Dhari-tuṣṭaye (//*) 3

4 vasv-aṅka-tarka(rk-e)ndu-mite Śak-āvde(bde)
vichāṁ gatasy=āpi raver=nnav-āṁśe //[2] 4
Para-dattāṁ kṣitiṁ yas=tu

5 rakṣati kṣmāpatiḥ prabhuḥ /
sa koṭi-guṇam=āpnoti puṇyaṁ dātṛjanād=api // 5
yo harec=ca

6 mahīṁ tāvad=devaśya(sya) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇasya vā (/*)
na tasya duṣkṛtir=yāti varṣa-koṭi-śatair=api // 6
iti san 1186 tārikh 9 Agrahāyan (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) स्वति(स्ति) (।*)
तेतैंआ(या)ड़ोत्तरे या च पूर्व्वे कृष्णपुरस्य च (।*)
झाकनिग्राम-दक्षे भूश्चारण्यपुर-पश्चिमे (॥*)१
(२) मेहारकुलाख्य-देशे तां स-पदोपरि-कीलकां(काम)(।*)
द्रोणी(ण)-पञ्चदश-मितां भूमिं यत् (तैः) सह कीलकी(कैः ॥)२
(३) जगन्नाथाय देवाय सेवायै हृष्ट-मानसः।
भूपः श्री-कृष्णमानिक्यदेवो(s*)दाद्धरि-तुष्टये (॥*)३
(४) वस्वङ्क-तर्क(के)न्दु-मिते शकाब्दे(ब्दे)
विछां गतस्यापि रवेर्नवांशे ॥४
पर-दत्तां क्षितिं यस्तु (५) रक्षति क्ष्मापतिः प्रभुः।
स कोटि-गुणमाप्नोति पुण्यं दातृजनादपि ॥५
यो हरेच्च (६) महीं तावद्देवश्य(स्य) ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्य वा (।*)
न तस्य दुष्कृतिर्याति वर्ष-कोटि-शतैरपि ॥६
इति सन ११८६ तारिख ९ अग्रहायन (॥*)

1. Better read *Mehārakula-deśe*.
2. This is only the half of a stanza in the *Upajāti* metre.

N.B. *Dakṣa*=correctly *dakṣiṇa*; Bengali *vichā*=Sanskrit *vṛścika*, i.e. the *rāśi* of that name. For notices of the grants of Govindamāṇikya and Kṛṣṇamāṇikya, see *A.R. Ind. Ep.*, 1951-52, Nos A-13ff.

Chapter Six

WEST BENGAL

No. 1. Kabilāspur Temple Inscriptions of Śaka 1565 (1643-44 A.D.)

Kabilāspur is a village near Rājnagar in the Birbhum District. Some time ago, an inked impression of a six-line inscription from a temple in the said village was sent to the author for examination and report by the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, and the impression was returned to the Survey together with a gist of the record. As the Survey did not supply the required details about the inscribed stone and its where-abouts, the author was not much interested in the private record of the construction of an unknown village temple. The name Kabilāspur was written on the impression as the findspot of the inscription and, in the absence of the name of the District, he was thinking whether the inscription, written in Bengali characters, could be related to the contiguous areas of Orissa where the Sanskrit name *Kailāsa* is often written as *Kabilāsa* or *Kapilāsa*. Shortly afterwards, the late Mr. D.J. McCutchion, who was then Reader in Comparative Literature in the University of Jadavpur and was engaged in a study of the late medieval temples of the Bengal region, sent me a photograph of an eight-line inscription from the Kabilāspur temple and requested me to supply him with my reading and interpretation of it. Since the writing was not satisfactorily readable from the photograph, I requested the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey to be so good as to supply me with an impression of the epigraph. Fortunately, A.C. Banerji, then in charge of the Circle, was kind enough to secure inked impressions of both the six-line and eight-line inscriptions on the Kabilāspur temple, which were sent to me for study.

No deity is now worshipped in the Kabilāspur temple, although

the empty temple is called Dharmaṭhākura's or Dharmarāja's shrine by most of the villagers and Śiva's shrine by some of them. There are two inscribed stones embedded in the front wall of the temple, above the door. Of the two stones, the smaller one containing six lines of writing is just below the bigger stone bearing the eight-line inscription. Both the records are dated in the Śaka year 1565 corresponding to 1643-44 A.D. The Census Report (1961) of the Birbhum District states that the inscriptions are undecipherable.[1] Although the statement cannot be regarded as correct, it must be admitted that previous attempts to read them must have failed as there are today not many people capable of reading even such late epigraphic records of the seventeenth century quite satisfactorily.

Both the inscriptions are written in Sanskrit verse, the smaller one containing only one stanza in *Pṛthvī* and the other having two stanzas in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Both are dated in the Śaka year 1565 (1643-44 A.D.), as already indicated above, although the smaller record gives the date both in words and in figures while the bigger one offers it only in figures. The composition is rather poor in both the cases; but the second *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* stanza in the bigger record seems to be particularly poor in style and language.

It appears that two local Paṇḍits were approached for the composition of a record of the construction of the temple by the person who caused its building and that the texts prepared by both of them were utilised. A similar case is offered by the Wari (Malda District, West Bengal) inscription recording the construction of a temple a century earlier, in Śaka 1467 (1545-46 A.D.), in two stanzas, one of which is stated to have been composed by Govindamiśra and the other by Śatāvadhāna.[2] In the case of the Kabilāspur temple inscriptions, however, the names of the authors are not recorded.

The smaller inscription from Kabilāspur begins with the auspicious *siddham* symbol (also pronounced as *Oṁ siddhiḥ* and *siddhir=astu*) followed by the adoration *śrī-śrī-Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ*, "Salutation to the doubly illustrious Kṛṣṇa". The first foot of the following stanza in *Pṛthvī* quotes the date as the Śaka year indicated, in the *vāma-gati* fashion, by *indu* (i.e., 1), *śara* (i.e., 5), *Saṇmukhānana* (i.e., 'the faces of Kārt-

1. *West Bengal District Census Handbook*: *Birbhum*, pp. 116 and 121.
2. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 179ff. Cf. also the Mahārāṇī inscriptions of Vijayamāṇikya above. 'Śatāvadhāna' must have been the title of the poet and not his personal name.

tikeya', meaning 6) and *Girīśamukha* (i.e., 'the faces of Śiva', meaning 5), that is to say, Śaka 1565. The remaining three feet of the stanza say that a successful Karaṇa (Kāyastha) named Rūpadāsa constructed 'this' temple of Hari, which was beautified by excellent stones and was (actually, the god installed in it was) expected to fulfil all wishes, out of devotion to the god (i.e. Hari) and with the desire for attaining to the Lord's feet. The last line contains the date (Śaka 1565) in figures.

The bigger inscription in 8 lines begins with the benediction *śubham=astu*, "Let it be well", which is followed by the date Śaka 1565. Of the two stanzas in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in which the inscription is written, the first describes the above-mentioned Rūpadāsa and prays for the longevity of his *kīrti*, 'a fame-producing work', no doubt meaning the object called 'this temple of Hari' in the other record. The description of Rūpadāsa in the first foot of the stanza shows that his original home was a famous locality called Sāmāsanā or that his family hailed from East Sāmāsanā. In the second foot, he is stated to have attained great fame owing to his excessive liberality and obtained considerable favour from the ruler of the land. It is further stated that he showered gifts and honour on pious people who assembled at his gate and prayed for his well-being.

The first half of the next stanza speaks of a curse according to which any outcast or uncivil fellow (*avarṇa*) destroying 'this *kīrti*' (i.e. the temple of Hari built by Rūpadāsa) would be endowed with the sin of beaf-eating. The second half of the stanza states that a pious Yavana (Muhammadan), who is respected in the region, should be the ruler of the area throughout the ages, and reference is made to the Yavana ruler's great *vinaya* (i.e. decency or good conduct).[1] Then another curse is mentioned, according to which the destroyer of the temple would be endowed with the sin of pork-eating. Even from the rather clumsy language it is clear that the sins of cow-eating and pig-eating were meant respectively for the Hindus and the Muhammadans.

The inscription ends with the mention of *Mehatari* Śrī-Haridāsa who was apparently the person engaged for the construction of Rūpadāsa's temple. The designation *Mehatari* is interesting because it is

1. The reference is to the Muslim chiefs of Rājnagar, who were famous for their liberality and kindness to both their Muslim and Hindu subjects. See Gaurihar Mitra, ***Bīrbhūmer Itihās***, Vol. II, p. 88.

Persian *Mihtar* meaning 'a chief, a prince, a great man'. In India the word usually means 'a scavenger' and sometimes also 'a slave' (as in Orissa), though according to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, the word is used in Marāthī as a common designation for a hereditary village officer like the Pāṭīl (village headman) or Kulakaraṇī (village accountant) and also indicates the head of a caste or business, trade or art, who used to exercise considerable authority over his people and to collect and pay the taxes payable by them and, in consideration of which, was himself exempt from taxes. We are told that it is the caste-name of the masons in the Birbhum District.

An interesting information supplied by the inscription is that the temple was built by Rūpadāsa for the god Hari or Viṣṇu in 1643-44 A.D., a little over three centuries ago. It has therefore to be explained why it is now empty, some people calling it a temple of Dharmaṭhākura or Dharmarāja and others a temple of Śiva. Of course Dharmaṭhākura or Dharmarāja is an aboriginal deity whom sometimes the Vaiṣṇavas identify with Viṣṇu and the Śaivas with Śiva. Since, however, the identification of Viṣṇu and Dharmaṭhākura is not generally accepted, it is difficult to believe that the temple really built for the said aboriginal deity would have been described as the abode of the god Hari or Viṣṇu. The god worshipped in the temple therefore could have been called Dharmaṭhākura or Dharmarāja or Śiva only at a later date when the people forgot its earlier association with Viṣṇu or when the temple may have been abandoned by the worshippers of Hari (Viṣṇu) and some other deity was installed therein. It may be possible to settle such problems satisfactorily by local investigation.

TEXT[1]

I

1 [Symbol.] Śrī Śrī-Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ //
Girīśamukha-Saṇmukhā-

2 nana-śar-endu-saṁkhy-ānvite
Śakāvda (bda)-nikare Ha-

3 rer=akhila-kāmadaṁ mandiram /
apūrvva-dṛṣa-

4 d-āchitaṁ racitavān=idaṁ śraddhayā
tadīya-

1. From impressions.

5 pada-vāñchayā Karaṇa-Rūpadāsaḥ kṛtī // 1
(Śaka*) 1565 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) ७ श्री-श्री-कृष्णाय नमः ॥
गिरीशमुख-षण्मुखा(२)नन-शरेन्दु-संख्यान्विते
शकाब्द(ब्द)-निकरे ह(३)रेरखिल-कामदं मन्दिरम् ।
अपूर्व्वं दृष ४)दाचितं रचितवानिदं श्रद्धया
तदीय-(५)पद-वाञ्छया करण-रूपदासः कृती ॥१
(शक*) १५६५ (॥*)

II

1 Śubham=astu Śakāvdāḥ(bdāḥ) 1565 //
Pūrvvā yasya nivāsa-bhūmir=atulā Sā-
2 māsanā viśrutā
yasya khyātir=atīva-dāna-janitā yasy=āti-bhūp-ā-
3 daraḥ /
yasya dvāri ca dāna-māna-mahitāḥ santaḥ śubh-āśaṁsinaḥ
kīrttiḥ
4 śrī yuta-Rūpadāsa-sudhiyas=tasy=āstu kalp-āvadhi // 1
Enāṁ kīrttim=apā-
5 karoti yadi ko=py=aṅgā(jñā)na-tālo[1]-vṛto=
varṇṇas=tasya nivāraṇāya śapa-
6 naṁ go-bha[kṣa]ṇaṁ varttatāṁ-
(tām) /
dharmm-ātmā Yavano bhaved=anuyugaṁ bhūpo=
7 pi sambhāvyate
tatr=āyaṁ vinayo mahāṁś=ca śapanañ=c=āstāṁ varā-
8 h-āśanam // 2
Mehatari-śrī-Haridāsaḥ //

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) शुभमस्तु शकाब्दाः(ब्दाः) १५६५ ॥
पूर्वा यस्य निवास-भूमिरतुला सा(२)मासना विश्रुता
यस्य ख्यातिरतीव-दान-जनिता यस्याति-भूपा(३)दरः ।
यस्य द्वारि च दान-मान-महिताः सन्तः शुभाशंसिनः
कीर्त्तिः (४) श्रीयुत-रपदास-सुधियस्तस्यास्तु कल्पावधि ॥१

1. The intended reading seems to be *tamo°*.

एनां कीर्त्तिमपा(५)करोति यदि को(ऽ*)प्यङ्गा(ज्ञा)न-तालो(तमो)-वृतो(ऽ*)-
वर्ण्णस्तस्य निवारणाय शप(६)नं गो-भ[क्ष]णं वर्त्ततां(ताम्)।
धर्म्मात्मा यवनो भवेदनुयुगं भूपो(ऽ*)(७)पि सम्भाव्यते
तत्रायं विनयो महांश्च शपनञ्चास्तां वरा(८)हाशनम् ॥२
मेहतरि-श्री-हरिदासः ॥

No. 2. Texts of Seven Temple Inscriptions of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries from the Bankura District

1. Bishnupur Śyāmarāya Temple Inscription, Malla-Śaka 949 (1643 A.D.)

1. Śrī-Rādhikā-Kṛṣṇa-mude Śake=ṅka-
ve-
2. d-āṅka-yukte navaratna-ratnaṁ(tnam) /
Śrī-Vīra-Hamvī(mbī)ra-
3. nareśa-sūnur=
dadau nṛpaḥ śrī-Raghunātha-
4. siṁhaḥ //[1]
Malla-Sa(Śa)ka 949 / Śrī-Rājā Vīrasiṁha[2] (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-राधिका-कृष्ण-मुदे शके(ऽ*)ङ्क-
वे(२)दाङ्क-युते नवर-त्न-रत्नं(त्नम्)।
श्री-वीर-हम्वी(म्बी)र-(३) नरेश-सूनु-
र्ददौ नृपः श्री-रघुनाथ(४)सिंहः ॥
मल्ल-स(श)क ९४९। श्री-राजा वीरसिंह (॥*)

2. Bishnupur Joḍ-Bāṅglā Temple Inscription, [Malla-Śaka] 961 (1655 A.D.)

1. Śrī-Rādhikā-Kṛṣṇa-mude śudhāṅśu(dhāṁśu)-
2. ras-āṅka-ge saudha-gṛhaṁ Śak-āvde(bde) (/*)
3. Śrī-Vīra-Hamvī(mbī)ra-nareśa-sūnu-
4. r-dadau nṛpaḥ śrī-Raghunāthasiṁhaḥ (//*)[1]
5. (Malla-Saka*) 961 (//*)

1. Metre: *Upajāti*. The use of the word *Śaka* for *Malla-śaka* or 'the Malla era' is interesting. The word *śaka* is here used in the sense of 'an era'. The Malla era, fabricated on the basis of the Bengali Sāl, was counted as starting 101 years behind the latter, i.e. in 694 A.D. The Bengali Sāl is a modification of the Faslī or solarised Hijrī. See Sircar, *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 313-14; above, p. 84.
2. The mention of Vīrasiṁha (cf. Nos. 4-6 below) suggests that No. 1 actually belongs to a later date.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-राधिका-कृष्ण-मुदे सुधाङ्शु(धांशु)-
(२) रसाङ्क-गे सौधगृहं शकाब्दे(ब्दे) (।*)
(३) श्री-वीर-हम्वी(म्बी)र-नरेश-सूनु-
(४) र्ददौ नृपः श्री-रघुनाथसिंहः (//*)
(५) (मल्ल-शक*) ९६१ (//*)

3. Bishnupur Kālācāṃd Temple Inscription, [Malla-Śaka] 962 (1656 A.D.)

1. Śrī-Rādhikā-Kṛṣṇa-mude Śake dvi-
2. ras-āṅka-yukte navaratnam=etat /
3. Śrī-Vīra-Hamvī(mbī)ra-nareśa=sūnur=
   dadau
4. nṛpa-śrī -Raghunāthasiṁhāḥ //[1] (Malla-Śaka*) 962 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-राधिका-कृष्ण-मुदे शके द्वि-
(२) रसाङ्क-युक्ते नवरत्नमेतत् ।
(३) श्री-वीर-हम्वी(म्बी)र-नरेश-सूनु-
र्ददौ (४) नृप-श्री-रघुनाथसिंहः // (मल्ल-शक*) ९६२ (//*)

4. Bishnupur Lāljī Temple Inscription, [Malla-Śaka] 964 (1658 A.D.)

1. Śrī-Rādhikā-Kṛṣṇa-mude Śake-vdhi(bdhi)-
2. ras-āṅka-yukte navaratnam=etat (/*)
3. Mall-ādhipa-śrī-Raghunātha-sūnur=
   dadau
4. nṛpa-śrīyuta-Vīrasiṁhaḥ //[1] (Malla-Śaka*) 964 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-राधिका-कृष्ण-मुदे शके(ऽ*)ब्धि(ब्धि)-
(२) रसाङ्क-युक्तेनवरत्नमेतत् (।*)
(३) मल्लाधिप-श्री-रघुनाथ-सूनु-
र्द(४)दौ नृप-श्रीयुत-वीरसिंहः // (मल्ल-शक*) ९६४ (//*)

5. Bishnupur Tejaḥpāla Temple Inscription, [Malla-Śaka] 978 (1672 A.D.)

1. Vasu-muny-aṅka-ge Śake
2. Śrī-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇayo(r*)=mude /
3. Raghunātha-sutaḥ saudha[ṁ]

1. Metre: *Upajāti.*

4. Vīrasiṁha-nṛpo dadau(//*)[1]
5. //(Malla-Śaka*) 978//

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) वसु-मुन्यङ्क-गे शके (२) श्री-राधा-कृष्णयोमु(र्मु)दे ।
(३) रघुनाथ-सुतः सौ[धं] (४) वीरसिंह-नृपो ददौ (//*)
(५) //(मल्ल-शक*) ९७८ //

6. *Sabrakon Rāmakṛṣṇa Temple Inscription, San (Malla-Śaka) 983 (1677 A.D.)*

1. Śrī-śrī-Kṛṣṇaḥ /
2. Kāla-vasv-aṅka=ge Śāke
3. Śrī-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇayo(r*)=mude (/*)
4. dadau saudha-gṛhaṁ śrīla-
5. Vīrasiṁha-mahīpatiḥ (//*)[1]
6. 2[2] Sana 983 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-श्री-कृष्णेः ।
(२) काल-त्रस्वङ्क-गे शाके (३) श्री-राधा-कृष्णयोमु(र्मु)दे (/*)
(४) ददौ शैल-गृहं श्रील-(५) वीरसिंह-महीपतिः (//*)
(६) सन ९८३

7. *Bishnupur Rādhāśyāma Temple Inscription, Mallābda 1064 and Śaka 1680 (1758 A.D.)*

1. Śrī-śrī-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇaḥ (//*)
2. Śrī-Rādhā-Śyāmachandr-āṅghri-sarasija-ta-
3. le divyam=etat suśobhaṁ Mall-āvde(bde) veda-
4. kāl-[3]āmva(mba)ra-vidhu-gaṇite Vā(Bā)hule[4] pau-
5. rṇṇamāsyām (*/) gehaṁ nānā-vicitraṁ vimita-
6. m=atidṛḍham pūjitañ=c=āpi bhaktyai(ktyā)

1. Metre: *Anuṣṭubh.*
2. The figure 2 probably means that the temple was the second built by the ruler.
3. The author uses the word *kāla*, which means 'three', to mean 'six' wrongly, though he could have used *kāya* in the latter sense.
4. The word *Bāhula* means *Kārttika.*

śrī-
7. Caitanyo nṛpendraḥ śubh-kṛti-nipuṇo
8. samprayacchet sabhāyāṁ(yām) //[1]
Śak-āvdāḥ(bdāḥ) 1680 (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्री-श्री-राधा-कृष्णः (/*)
(२) श्री-राधा-श्यामचन्द्राङ्घ्र-सरसिज-त(३)ले दिव्यमेतत् सुशोभं
मल्लाब्दे(ब्दे) वेद-(४) काला(या)म्ब(म्ब)र-विधु-गणिते वा(बा)हुले पौ(५)र्णमस्याम् (/*)
गेहं नाना-विचित्रं विमित(६)मतिदृढं पूजितञ्चापिभक्त्यै(क्त्या)
श्री-(७) चैतन्यो नृपेन्द्रः शुभ-कृति-निपुणो (८) सम्प्रयच्छेत् सभायां(याम्) ॥
शकाब्दाः(ब्दाः) १६८० (//*)

1. Metre: *Sragdharâ*.

APPENDIX

Gayā Temple Inscriptions of Some South Indian Kings[1]

We had occasion to suggest that inscriptions set up at well-known *tīrthas* (holy places) by visiting pilgrims sometimes mention kings of their own lands not because the holy places in question formed parts of their dominions but merely because the pilgrims were their subjects or subordinates and that pious people including kings often sought to secure the merit of visiting *tīrthas* of their choice by sending others to those localities at their own cost as their proxies.[2] The following four inscriptions from Gayā, which is one of the most celebrated *tīrthas* of India, throw welcome light on the said question. The holiest shrine at Gayā is the Viṣṇupāda temple and all the records are found within the precincts of that temple.

Gayā is regarded as the most suitable place for the celebration of the post-funeral ceremony called *śrāddha* for the salvation of the spirits of dead ancestors. *Gayā-śrāddha* (i.e. the performance of *śrāddha* at Gayā) can be celebrated by anybody for any deceased person at any time of the year, although the fortnight ending with the *Mahālayā-Amāvāsyā* (i.e. the new moon day in *amānta* Bhādrapada or *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina) is regarded as the best time for it, and lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India visit the holy place on that occasion.[3]

No. 1. Inscription of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudra (I)

The inscription is engraved on a black slab of stone fixed into the eastern wall (right side) of the shrine of Śiva in front of the Viṣṇupāda temple. There are in all 31 lines of writing. The preservation

1. The author received the help of several South Indian scholars in studying these records.
2. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 100-101.
3. See above, p. 34. For the importance of Gayā as a holy place especially for the performance of *śrāddha*, see the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chapters 105ff; Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, pp. 643-79.

on the whole is satisfactory, though some letters are damaged here and there. The inscribed space measures 31 inches in height and 11 inches in breadth. Beneath the writing, there are the representations of the *cakra* (discus) and the *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) which is on a pedestal, and below these there is 'K. 1848' incised in English. The English writing apparently refers to the utilisation of the stone slab sometime in 1848 A.D.; but it has nothing to do with the inscription. The *cakra* and *śaṅkha* are the well-known emblems of the god Viṣṇu and appear to point to the Vaiṣṇava leanings of the person who set up the record under study.

The characters are Nandi-Nāgarī of the twelfth or thirteenth century.[1] The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of a passage in prose at the end. There are altogether 12 stanzas, the metre employed being *Anuṣṭubh* in all the cases. The author's command over the language was, however, not quite satisfactory. The orthography of the record is characterised by the use of *anusvāra* in the place of final *m* and class nasals. The name *Mallikārjuna* (lines 11 and 19) has been spelt with *kha* instead of *ka* as in some other Telugu inscriptions.[2] The inscription bears no date.

Verses 1-4 in lines 1-9 describe a king named Pratāparudra. The first of these stanzas speaks of him as *nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasat-pada* and *rāja-śiro-maṇi* which may indicate that he was an independent or imperial ruler. The suggestion seems to be supported by verse 3 which represents the king as bearing the burden of the entire earth. Verse 2 refers to his capital as excelling Amarāvatī, the city of the gods, but does not mention its name. This reference to the capital, which has no direct relation with the purpose of the inscription, seems to indicate that king Pratāparudra was ruling from the unnamed city when the inscription was incised and that the inscription was composed at his capital.

1. The name Nandi-Nāgarī is usually associated with the Nāgarī alphabet used in the South Indian records of the Vijayanagara period (cf. Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, p. 68; Renou et Filliozat, *L'Inde Classique*, Tome II, p. 682). But the development of the Nandi-Nāgarī alphabet can be traced to earlier times. We have applied this name to the characters of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 of this section because they exhibit the Nandi-Nāgarī forms of some letters. Cf. *śa* in both the records and initial *i* in Inscription No. 2, line 18.
2. Cf., e.g., P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Part III, 1956, p. 71.

The following five stanzas (verses 5-9) in lines 9-20 describe the preceptor of Pratāparudra. Verse 5 states that the name of the king's preceptor was Mallikārjuna who enjoyed the title *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-cakravartin*.[1] He is also called *sūri* in the same stanza and *kovida* in verse 9 and was apparently famous for his learning. The name of Mallikārjuna is repeated in verse 9, while verse 7 represents him as a great devotee of the god Śiva as it says that Induśekhara (Śiva) liked his stay in Mallikārjuna's mind better than his residence on Mount Kailāsa. Verses 8-9 state that a locality called Mantrakūṭa lying on the southern border of the Vindhyan range (*Vindhy-ādri-dakṣiṇa-prānte*) and on the bank of the river Gautamī (*Gautamī-taṭe*) was studded with numerous *liṅgas* and that the city called Simhādri-nagarī, situated in the said locality, was beautified by Mallikārjuna with many buildings. Gautamī is another name of the river Godāvarī, while Mantrakūṭa is the same as Manthani (also called Mantenna), the headquarters of a Taluk of the same name in the Karimnagar District in Andhra Pradesh. A chief named Guṇḍa is described as the lord of Mantrakūṭa-nagarī in the Hanumakonda inscription[2] (Śaka 1084=1162 A.D.) of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I, while the same chief is called Manthanya-Guṇḍa in the Palampet inscription[3] of Saka 1135 (1213 A.D.), and Manttena-Guṇḍa in the Ganapesvaram inscription[4] (Śaka 1153=1231 A.D.) of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. A Śiva temple built at the same place, called Mantrakūṭapura, by Gaṅgādhara, a general of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I, is mentioned in the Karimnagar inscription[5] of Śaka 1092 (1170 A D.).

Verse 10 in lines 21-23 states that Mallikārjuna's wife was Gaurī who caused to perform the *Gayā-śrāddha*, apparently of her husband Mallikārjuna, even though the husband's death is not clearly referred to in the inscription. Verse 11 in lines 23-26 speaks of Gaurī's daily

1. Mallikārjuna's title reminds us of the title *Sakala-vidyā-cakravartin* enjoyed by several scholars at the court of the Hoysala kings of Dorasamudra. It has been suggested that the title was conferred on the court Pandits by the Hoysala kings (see *Ep. Ind* , Vol. XXXI, p. 227). It is thus possible that the title *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-cakravartin* was conferred on Mallikārjuna by his royal disciple Pratāparudra.
2. P. Sreenivasachar, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 10, text line 34.
3. *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 3, p. 3, text line 49.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 85, text line 15.
5. P. Sreenivasachar, *op. cit.*, p. 13, text line 142.

entry through the gate of Gayā[1] and to her securing the salvation of the foremost of her relations (i.e. her husband).[2] Apparently she performed what is called *nitya-śrāddha* for the emancipation of her husband Mallikārjuna.

Verse 12 in lines 26-29 gives some interesting information about Gaurī, wife of Mallikārjuna. It is stated that formerly she had been passing her days playfully at the feet of the god Gopīnātha described as the lord of the Kandammaṭi family, but that at the time being her residence was Maṇikarṇika. As regards her later residence, the place appears to be the same as the famous Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ at Vārāṇasī.[3] But the location of the deity Gopīnātha worshipped by the members of the Kandammaṭi family is difficult to determine, although Kandammaṭi seems to be the name of a locality from which the family derived its name. Gaurī's relationship with the said family is not stated in the incsription. We may conjecture that she was born in the Kandammaṭi family. Gaurī's devotion to the god Gopīnātha (a form of Viṣṇu) shows that she was a Vaiṣṇava,[4] while her husband Mallikārjuna was a staunch devotee of the god Śiva. The document ends with an adoration of the god Gopījanavallabha, the same as Gopīnātha. But, while the latter is described as the lord of the Kandammaṭi family, the former is called Mantrakūṭa-Gopījanavallabha, apparently meaning 'Gopījanavallabha of Mantrakūṭa', even though the two appear to be one and the same deity. It seems that the Kandammaṭi family, which originally hailed from the village of Kandammaṭi and to which Gaurī seems to have belonged, was at a later date living at the locality called Mantrakūṭa. In that case, *Kandammaṭi-kul ādhīśa* Gopīnātha may of course be safely identified with Mantrakūṭa-Gopījanavallabha.

There is some evidence regarding the identification of king Pratāparudra and his preceptor *Tribhuvanī-vidyā-cakravartin* Mallikārjuna. An inscription[5] of about Śaka 1121 (1199 A.D.) from Manthani (anci-

1. *Gayā-dvăram=āviśantī dine dine* seems to refer to Gaurī's daily visit to the Gayā temple.
2. The expression *purodhasaṁ ca bandhūnām* has been used to indicate 'the husband'.
3 Maṇikarṇikā is one of the five holiest spots at Vārāṇasī, the others being Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka, Keśava and Bindumādhava (*Matsya Purāṇa*, 185, 65-66).
4. The inscription does not say that Gaurī was devoted to both Viṣṇu and Śiva.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 65ff.

ent Mantrakūṭa) states that Mallikārjuna's son Gopāla received a big plot of land at Mantrakūṭa from Kākatīya Rudradeva (i.e. Pratāparudra I, 1163-95 A.D.) and that the township called Siṁhagiripura (the same as Siṁhādri-nagarī of our inscription) was built by him on the said plot. Thus Pratāparudra of the Gayā inscription is no other than Kākatīya Pratāparudra I.

There is a tradition[1] that the great Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhya was the preceptor of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (1199-1260 A.D.) who was the brother's son of Pratāparudra I. This, however, is against the evidence of the Malkapuram inscription[2] which represents the great Śaiva teacher Viśveśvaraśambhu hailing from Pūrvagrāma in the Rāḍha division of Gauḍa, as the *dīkṣā-guru* of king Gaṇapati. Since the contemporaneity of Kākatīya Pratāparudra I and the *Paṇḍitārādhya* has been admitted by scholars,[3] it is not impossible that Mallikārjuna of the Gayā inscription, who was the preceptor of the said Kākatīya king, is identical with Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhya.

P. Sreenivasachar identifies the *Paṇḍitārādhya* with the Śaiva teacher Mallikārjuna mentioned in an inscription[4] of Śaka 1109 (1187 A.D.) from Kudavel-Saṅgameśvaram about 10 miles from Alampur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. Two inscriptions[5] from the Kurnool District of the same State, dated respectively in Śaka 1154 (1232 A.D.) and 1157 (1235 A.D.), speak of a disciple of Mallikārjuna who may be no other than Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhya. The language of our inscription seems to suggest that the royal disciple Pratāparudra was still on the throne when his preceptor Mallikārjuna died. This may suggest that Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhya died before 1195 A.D.[6]

In spite of the mention of king Pratāparudra I of the Kākatīya dynasty of Warangal in the inscription under study, there is certainly no reason to believe that the Gayā region in South Bihar formed any part of his dominions. We know that South Bihar lay in the empire

1. See a poem entitled 'Kākati Prolarājadula praśaṁsa' in the *Kākatīyasaṁcika*, ed. by M. Rama Rao, p. 140.
2. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 395, p. 207, text lines 79-80.
3. See *Kākatīyasaṁcika*, pp. 26, 34, 212.
4. *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 71.
5. Rangachari's List, Nos. K1, 14, and also 19; *A.R.S. Ind. Ep.*, 1925-26, para. 52 (pp. 116-17).
6. The death of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍitārādhya has been assigned to 1169-70 A.D. (*Kākatīyasaṁcika*, p. 212) on insufficient grounds.

of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar from the eighth to the twelfth century and in the dominions of the Musalmans from the end of the twelfth century till the British conquest in the eighteenth century. Even in the absence of any reference in the present inscription to the ruler whose dominions comprised Gayā, king Pratāparudra I mentioned in it cannot be regarded as having ruled over the Gayā region.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the holy *tīrthas* of Gayā and Maṇikarṇikā (called Maṇikarṇika in the record) at Vārāṇasī, the mountain range Vindhya and the river Gautamī (Godāvarī) are well known. Kandammaṭi cannot be satisfactorily identified. The location of Mantrakūṭa has been discussed above.

TEXT[1]

1 Śrīmaṁ(man)-nikhila-bhūpāla-mauli-ratna-lasa-
2 t-padaḥ /
asti Pratāparudr-ākhyo rājā rāja-
3 śiromaniḥ /(/*) 1
Yat-[pu]rī turag-ākīrṇā maha-
4 t-kari-ghaṭ-ākulā /
paṇya-sta(strī)-muktā-vyajena hasa-
5 nt=īv=Āmarāvatīṁ(tīm) /(/*) 2
Yad-bhujā-nihit-āśeṣa-ratna-
6 garbhā-mahā-bhu(bha)raḥ /
śithilīka(ku)rute nūnaṁ Pha-
7 ṇī[n]dro=pi phaṇā-kulaṁ(lam) /(/*) 3
Guṇ-ālavāla-niya-
8 tā bahu-māna-phal-āṁkitā /
vyāptā yat-kīrtti-
9 [la]tikā gagana-sthala-maṁṭapaṁ(pam) /(/*) 4
Tasya tribhu-
10 vanīvidyācakravartt=īti viśrutāḥ/
guravaḥ saṁ-
11 ti loke=smin=Mallikhā(kā)rjuna-sūrayaḥ /(/*) 5
Ya-

1. From impressions.

d-yaśāṁsi śarac-caṁdra-vimalāni va(vi)tanvate (/*)
niyataiṁ diṅ-mṛgākṣīnāṁ dukūla-vasana-śri-
yaṁ(yam) /(/*) 6
Eṣāṁ mānasam=adhyāsya bhagavān=Indu-
se(śe)kharaḥ /
na Kailāsa-mahāśaila-sukh-ā-
[vāsa]m=apekṣate /(/*) 7
Vi[ṁ]dhy-ādri-dakṣiṇa-prāṁ-
te vilasad=Gautamī-taṭe /
Maṁtrakūṭa[ṁ*] sahasrā-
[ṇ]āṁ liṁgānāṁ sthānam=uttamaṁ(mam) /(/*) 8
Tatra Siṁhādri-na-
garīṁ Mallikhā(kā)rjuna-kovidaḥ /
vidvaj-janeṁ-
dra-mī(nī)raṁdhrāṁ ramya-harmyām=acīkarat // 9
Gaurī guṇavatī tasya vidvaj-jana-vi-
[no]dinaḥ /
dharmapatnī Gayā-śrā-
ddhaṁ-vī[ta]-vi[ccha(ghna)]m=akārayat // 10
Atha
Gaurī Gayā-dvāram=āviśaṁtī dine
dine /
purodhas[ā(saṁ) ca] baṁdhūnāṁ muktam=e-
v=ākarot=satī // 11
Kaṁdammaṭi-kul-ā-
dhīśa-Gopīnātha-pad-āmvu(bu'je /
ta[tho]-[1]
syāḥ pūrvam=abhūt=k[r]ī[ḍ]ā[2] idānīṁ
Maṇikarṇike // 12
śrī-Maṁtrakū-
ṭa-Gopījana[va]llabhāya
namaḥ //[3]

1. The *akṣara* looking like *tho* is redundant.
2. *Sandhi* has been avoided here for the sake of the metre. Better read *c=eḍānīṁ*.
3. There is a symbol here at the end of the writing.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) श्रीमं(मन्)-निखिल-भूपाल-मौलि-रत्न-लस(२)त्पदः ।
अस्ति प्रतापरुद्राख्यो राजा राज-(३)शिरोमणिः ।(।*) १
य[त्पु]री तुरगाकीर्णा मह(४)त्करि-घटाकुला ।
पण्यस्त(स्त्री)-मुक्ता-व्यजेन हस(५)न्तीवामरावतीं(तीम्) ।(।*) २
यद्भुजा-निहिताशेष-रत्न-(६) गर्भा-महाभु(भ)रः ।
शिथिलीक(कु)रुते नूनं फ(७)णी[न्द्रो](ऽ*)पि फणा-कुलं(लम्) ।(।*) ३
गुणालवाल-निय(८)ता बहु-मान-फलांकिता ।
व्याप्ता यत्कीर्त्ति-(९)[ल]तिका गगनस्थल-मंटपं(पम्) ।(।*) ४
तस्य त्रिभु(१०)वनीविद्याचक्रवर्त्तीति विश्रुताः ।
गुरवः सं(११)ति लोके(ऽ*)स्मिन्मल्लिखा(का)र्जुन-सूरयः ।(।*) ५
य(१२)द्यशांसि शरच्चंद्र-विमलानि व(वि)तन्वते (।*)
(१३) नियतं दिङ्मृगाक्षीणां दुकूल-वसन-श्रि(१४)यं (यम्) ।(।*) ६
एषां मानसमध्यास्य भगवानिन्दु(१५)से(शे)खरः ।
न कैलास-महाशैल-सुखा(१६)[वास]मपेक्षते ।(।*) ७
विंध्याद्रि-दक्षिण-प्रां(१७)ते विलसद्गौतमी-तटे ।
मंत्रकूट(टं) सहस्रा(१८)[णां] लिंगानां स्थानमुत्तमं(मम्) ।(।*) ८
तत्र सिंहाद्रि-न(१९)गरीं मल्लिखा(का)र्जुन-कोविदः ।
विद्वज्जनें(२०)द्र-मी(नी)रंध्रां रम्य-हर्म्यामचीकरत् ॥ ९
(२१) गौरी गुणवती तस्य विद्वज्जन-वि(२२)[नो]दिनः ।
धर्मपत्नी गया-श्रा(२३)द्धं वी[त]-वि[च्छ(घ्न)]मकारयत् ॥ १०
अथ (२४) गौरी गया-द्वारमाविशंती दिने (२५) दिने ।
पुरोध[सां(सं) च] बंधूनां मुक्तमे(२६)वाकरोत्सती ॥ ११
कंदंम्मटि-कुला(२७)धीश-गोपीनाथ-पदांबु(बु)जे ।
त(२८)स्याः पूर्वमभू[त्क्रीडा] इदानीं (२९) मणिकर्णिके ॥ १२
श्री-मंत्रकू(३०)ट-गोपीजन[व]ल्लभाय (३१) नमः ।।

No. 2. Inscription of the time of Hoysala Narasiṁha (III)

This inscription is engraved on the left door jamb of the doorway leading into a Mahādeva shrine under a peepal tree in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple. The writing occupies a space of about 26¾ inches in height and 4 inches in width, there being altogether 25 lines and each line containing about four *akṣaras*. Immediately below the above record, there is a second inscription which contains 21 lines covering a space equal in area as the first epigraph. It seems that the available space was divided into two halves for the two inscriptions which were very probably engraved at the same time.

The record is written in the Nandi-Nāgarī characters of about the 12th or 13th century A.D. with the exception of the last line which

is in the Kannaḍa script. The characters resemble those of the Gayā inscription of Pratāparudra's time, discussed above. The form of *vra* in *vrajana* in lines 11-12 is interesting to note. The language is Kannaḍa and the inscription is written in prose. As regards orthographical peculiarities, the word *siṁha* has been spelt as *siṁga* (lines 3-4) while *ṛṇa* has been spelt as *riṇa* thrice in lines 14-16.

The record bears no date, although it refers, in lines 2-5, to a ruler named Hosaṇa Vīra-Narasiṁhadeva. *Hosaṇa* is the same as *Hoysaṇa*, a well-known variant of the dynastic name *Hoysala*,[1] and there is no doubt that Vīra-Narasiṁha of our record belonged to the Hoysala ruling family of Dorasamudra (modern Halebid in Karnataka). In this connection, it is interesting to note that the second inscription on the same stone referred to above, which is written in the Kannaḍa language and script, reads in lines 1-16: *śrī-Vīra-Narasi[ṁ]hadevarasara kaṁmaṭada Jakaṁṇana maga[ṁ*] [Ca]ṁdiraṇa Ka(Kha)ra-saṁvatsarada Bā(Bhā)drapa(da*)-ba 30 So [Gayā]-pravesaṁ(śaṁ) māḍi* . . . This record, the concluding part of which is damaged, speaks of a person named Candiraṇṇa who was a son of Jakaṇṇa, an employee in the mint of Vīra-Narasiṁhadeva, and of his visit to Gayā on pilgrimage. It will be seen that both the inscriptions apparently refer to the same Hoysala king named Narasiṁha or Vīra-Narasiṁha. But, while the first record which is the subject of our study in these lines does not bear any date, the second epigraph is dated in the cyclic year Khara, Bhādrapada-ba 30, Monday, i.e. the day of the *Mahālayā Amāvāsyā* and, as indicated above, the most suitable time for the performance of the *śrāddha* of relatives at Gayā. Unfortunately there were no less than three kings named Narasiṁha in the Hoysala dynasty of Dorasamudra, all of whom flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reign of Narasiṁha I, son of Viṣṇuvardhana, is now assigned to c. 1141-73 A.D., while his grandson Narasiṁha II and the latter's grandson Narasiṁha III are supposed to have ruled respectively in c. 1220-35 A.D. and c. 1254-91 A.D.[1] There is, however, a clue in the second of of the two inscriptions as regards the identification of Vīra-Narasiṁha. The cyclic year Khara of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India can be associated with the reign of each one of the three kings, viz. Khara=1171-72 A.D. falling in the reign of Narasiṁha I, Khara=1231-32 A.D. in that of Narasiṁha II and Khara=1291-92 A.D. about

1. Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 490.
2. See Coelho, *The Hoysala Vaṁśa*, pp. 115, 169, 198.

the end of that of Narasiṁha III. But since the week-day is given as Monday, the details quoted in the epigraph would suit only the year 1291 A.D. The date corresponds to the 24th September 1291 A.D., and the king mentioned in our epigraph is thus no doubt Hoysala Narasiṁha III.

The inscription under study begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by a passage in lines 1-11 mentioning a person named Apaṇṇa as the son of *Ācārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭopādhyāya of the *dehāra* of Hosaṇa (Hoysala) śrī-Vīra-Narasiṁhadeva. The word *dehāra* is derived from Sanskrit *devagṛihaka*, 'a temple', through Apabhraṁśa *deharaya*. The word *ācārya* is used in Kannaḍa in the sense of a priest and *Ācārya* Padmanābha-bhaṭṭopādhyāya was apparently the priest of a temple built by the Hoysala king Narasiṁha probably at his capital Dorasamudra. Padmanābha's son Apaṇṇa is stated in lines 11-18 to have caused to be constructed what is called a *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* and to have discharged thereby his debts to the gods, to his forefathers and to other human beings. The expression *Gayā-vrajana-maṭha* appears to indicate a sort of *Dharma-śālā* which was meant for the pilgrims who visited Gayā probably from the Karnāṭa country to which Apaṇṇa belonged. Lines 18-23 mention the names of three persons called Rudrapada, Viṣṇupada and Gadādhara who are stated to have been the witnesses in the matter apparently of the construction of the *Maṭha*. It is not clear whether these three persons, who may have been local people, were made trustees for the *maṭha* in question by Apaṇṇa. However, it is probable that the reference is to three local deities. Lines 23-24 contain the expression *śrī-śrī* forming a *maṅgala* and indicating the end of the document. This is followed in the last line (line 25) by the personal name Devarasa written in Kannaḍa characters. Devarasa was possibly responsible for the engraving of the inscription analysed above as well as of the other record incised in the lower half of the surface of the stone.

It appears that Apaṇṇa of the present record and Candiraṇṇa of the second inscription visited Gayā at the same time. There is little doubt that they were accompanied by many other pilgrims from the area of Karnataka, to which they belonged, one of them apparently being Devarasa.

It is not clear from the inscription whether Apaṇṇa, the son of the priest of Hoysala Narasiṁha's temple, visited Gayā and constructed the *maṭha* at the holy place for the pilgrims, probably from Karnataka,

on his own behalf or at the expense and on behalf of the Hoysala king. But in spite of the non-mention of the ruler whose kingdom included the Gayā region in the inscription under study, Hoysala Narasiṁha mentioned in it had obviously nothing really to do with South Bihar.

TEXT[1]

1 Svasti (/*) Śrī-
2 Hosaṇa-
3 Śrī-Vīra-Na-
4 rasiṁgade-
5 vana dehā-
6 rada ācā-
7 rya Padmanā-
8 bha-bhaṭo(ṭṭo)pā-
9 dhyāyara ma-
10 gam=Apaṁṇa-
11 nu Gayā-vra-
12 jana-maṭha-
13 va māḍi de-
14 va-ri(ṛ)ṇa pitu(tṛ)-
15 ri(ṛ)ṇa manu-
16 ṣya-ri(ṛ)ṇava-
17 nū kalade-
18 nu[2] (/*) i-ardha(rtha)-
19 ke śrī-Rudra-
20 pada Viṣṇupa-
21 da śrī-Gadā-
22 dharanu sā-
23 kṣigaḷu (/*) śrī-
24 śrī (/*)[3]
25 Devarasa[4] (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) स्वस्ति (/*) श्री-(२) होसण-(३) श्री-वीर-न(४)रसिंगदे(५)वन देहा(६)रद आचा(७)र्य पद्मना(८)भ-भटो(ट्टो)पा(९)ध्यायर म(१०)गमपंण(११)नु गया-व्र(१२)जन-मठ (१३)-व माडि दे(१४)-व-रिण पितु-(१५) रिण मनु(१६)ष्य-रिणव(१७)नू कलदे(१८)नु (कलेदनु) (/*) इ-अर्ध(र्थ)(१९)-के श्री-रुद्र(२०)पद विष्णुप(२१) द श्री-गदा(२२)धरनु सा(२३)क्षिगलु (।*) श्री(२४)श्री (/*) (२५) देवरस (/*)

No. 3. Inscription of Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara, Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.)

The inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone slab built into the right wall of the Gadādhara Ghāṭ (in front of the Gadādhara shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple) leading to the river

1. From impressions.
2. Read *kaḷedanu*.
3. There is a symbol here.
4. This name is written in Kannaḍa characters unlike lines 1-24 in Nāgarī. This is followed by a different inscription in Kannaḍa language and alphabet, to which reference has been made above.

Phalgu. The slab measures about 2.5 feet in height and 1.5 feet in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An eight-armed female deity is engraved in low relief in an excavated bed in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. The details of the figure are not clear on the impressions. But the representation seems to be that of the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī. Lines 12-16 of the inscription are engraved to the left and lines 17-21 to the right of the excavated bed containing the figure.

The record is in Telugu characters of about the 16th century A.D. The letter *ka* is written in its modern Telugu form in *Kṛṣṇa* (line 7) and *gaṁḍḍāṁkkā* (lines 15-16). The letter *la* almost resembles the form of modern Telugu *ka*. No distinction has been made between the medial signs for *i* and *ī*. Initial *i* is used for *yi* in *veiṁcina* (line 8; cf. *yī* for *ī* in line 17). The consonant following *anusvāra* is reduplicated in some cases.

The language of the record is Telugu and it is written in prose with a single verse in the middle. It is dated in Śaka 1444 (current), Vṛṣa, Āṣāḍha-ba 13, Tuesday, regularly corresponding to July 12, 1521 A.D.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the date in lines 1-4. Next comes a sentence in prose in lines 5-9, which states that the *vijaya-śāsana* (apparently referring to the record under study) was set up by the illustrious *Rājādhirāja Rājaparameśvara Vīrapratāpa-Vīra* Krṇṣadeva-mahārāya. The above is followed by a verse in the Kanda metre, which is in praise of the king. He is represented in the stanza as the husband of Tirumaladevī and as the son of king Īśvara-Narasa (i.e. Narasa-nāyaka, son of Īśvara). It is interesting to note that this verse occurs in the celebrated Telugu work entitled *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by the well-known poet Nandi-Timmana (also called Mukku-Timmana) who was an ornament of the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya (1509-29 A.D.) of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. The stanza is followed by another sentence in prose in lines 17-21 stating that the *śāsana* (i.e. the *vijaya-śāsana* mentioned in lines 8-9) was composed by Mukku-Timmaya, i.e. Mukku-Timmana referred to above.

The inscription is interesting for several reasons. In the first place, it is a lithic record of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya set up far away from the territory under his rule. Secondly, it is a composition of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's famous court poet Nandi-Timmana who is

mentioned in no other epigraphic record so far discovered. Thirdly, it quotes a stanza from the poet's celebrated work *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and quotations from such works are rare in inscriptions.

The inscription refers to itself as the *vijaya-śāsana* (literally 'a document relating to victory') of king Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya set up by the king himself, as if Gayā, where it was set up, formed an integral part of his empire. But we know that in Śaka 1444 (1521 A.D.) when the epigraph was engraved, the region was a part of the dominions of the Muhammadans.[1] The said region, moreover, lay far away from the borders of the Vijayanagara empire in the extreme south of India and the sphere of Kṛṣṇadeva's influence, with a number of independent states lying between the two areas, and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that the Vijayanagara monarch had anything to do with South Bihar. Thus the poet Nandi-Timmana seems to have himself visited Gayā as a proxy of his patron. The prevalence of such a practice is well known from medieval inscriptions. Thus a record[2] from Bothpur in the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh states how a chief named Viṭṭaya sent two persons named Bācaya and Boppa to Vāraṇāsi (i.e. Vārāṇasī) 'in the name of his grandmother' and gave them two *marturus* of land for their labour. Another inscription[3] of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.) from the same place seems to state how another chief named Malyāla Guṇḍa gave some land to several people for making pilgrimages on his behalf to *tīrthas* like the Setu (Setubandha-Rāmeśvara), Śrīparvata, and Alampūru on the Tuṅgabhadrā.

Thus in spite of the mention of the record as Kṛṣṇadeva's *vijaya-śāsana* set up by himself and of the absence of any reference to the king whose dominions comprised the Gayā region, the Vijayanagara monarch cannot in any way be associated with the area where the inscription was set up by his court poet in his name.[4] As suggested above, Mukku Timmana made the pilgrimage to the holy place on

1. About the period in question, the Bihar region was a bone of contention among the Sultāns of Delhi, Bengal and Jaunpur.
2. P. Sreenivasachar, *Corpus*, Part II, p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 152; cf. p. 147, text lines 135ff.
4. In this connection, the other three Gayā inscriptions mentioning three other South Indian rulers have also to be kept in view. *Contra Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. I, pp. 52ff, suggesting the absurd identification of Nāvāḍa, subdued by Kṛṣṇadeva, with Nawādā (Nawadah) in the Gaya District.

behalf of his patron, there being no reason to believe that Kṛṣṇadeva himself visited Gayā.

It may be pointed out here that the expression *vijaya-śāsana* is not quite suitable in the present context. The record should have properly been called a *dharma-śāsana* (i.e. document relating to religious merit), as found in a similar context in the record of Acyutarāya's time, discussed below, since it was really associated with the king's endeavour to acquire religious merit by performing a pilgrimage to Gayā through a proxy. Of course it may be regarded as a *dharma-vijaya-śāsana*.

Kṛṣṇadeva's services to Telugu literature are well known. His court was adorned by eight eminent poets called the *aṣṭa-diggajas*,[1] among whom Allasāni-Peddana and Nandi-Timmana were the most famous. Allasāni-Peddana is mentioned in a number of epigraphs found at Anniyūr[2] (South Arcot District), Kokaṭam[3] (Cuddapah District) and Melpāḍi[4] (Chittoor District) in different parts of the Vijayanagara kingdom corroborating the statement of a *cāṭu* verse[5] attributed to him. Mukku-Timmana, who is mentioned only in the inscription under study, claims in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*[6] to have received a number of big villages from the king. The present inscription does not mention what he received for the pilgrimage he apparently undertook on the king's behalf.

Mukku-Timmana was a staunch Śaiva and was a disciple of Aghoraśiv-ācārya.[7] The representation of the goddess Mahiṣamardinī on the stone slab bearing Timmana's inscription at Gayā is in consonance with his religious faith. The *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* seems to have been composed by Timmana some time before the date of our record viz., 1521 A.D.

TEXT[8]

1 Svasti / Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya-Śā-
2 livāhana-Śaka-varṣaṁbulu

1. *A.R.S. Ind. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. 282 speaks of the grant of a village in favour of the *aṣṭa-diggaja-kavīśvaras*.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 623 of 1915, which mentions him as the governor of the entire Karivāci-sīma.
3. *Ibid.*, Nos. 715 and 716 of 1926.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 105 of 1921.
5. K. Viresalingam, *The Telugu Poets*, Part II, pp. 189-90.
6. *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto V, verse 108: *Kṛṣṇarāya-kṣitīśa-karuṇā-samālabdha-ghana-caturaṁta-yāna mahāgrāhāra-sanmāna-yutuḍu*.
7. *Loc. cit.*
8. From impressions.

3 1444 agu neṁṭi Vṛṣa-saṁ-
4 vatsara Āṣāḍa(ḍha)-bahuḷa 13 Ma[1]
5 śrīman-mahārājādhirāja-rāja-
6 parameśvara-vīra-pratāpa-vīra
7 Kṛṣṇadeva-mahārāyalu
8 veiṁ°cina vijaya-śāsana-
9 mu//Tirumaladevī-vallabhaka[3] ka-
10 ruṇāmaya-hṛdaya rāja-kaṁ-
11 ṭhīrava Īśvara-Narasa-bhūpuraṁdara-
12 vara-naṁdana
13 bāsa-da-
14 ppuvara
15 gaṁḍḍāṁ-
16 kkā (//*)[4]
17 yī(ī) śā-
18 sanamu
19 Mukku-
20 Timmaya
21 vrāsenu (//*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) स्वस्ति । श्री-जयाभ्युदय-शा(२)लिवाहन-शक-वर्षंबुलु (३) १४४४ अगु नेंटि वृष-सं(४)-वत्सर आषाड(ढ)-बहुल १३ म (५) श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज-राज(६) परम्मेश्वर-वीरप्रताप-वीर-(७) कृष्णदेव-महारायलु (८) वेइं(यिं)चिन विजय-शासन(९)मु // तिरुमलदेवी-वल्लभक क(१०)रुणामय-हृदय राज-कं(११)ठीरव ईश्वर-नरस-भूपुरंदर-(१२)वर-नंदन (१३) बास-द(१४)प्पुवर (१५) गंडुं-(१६)क्का (/*) (१७) यी(ई) शा (१८)सनमु (१९) मुक्कु-(२०) तिम्मय (२१) व्रासेनु (//*)

No. 4. Inscription of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara, [Vikrama-Saṁvat] 1588 (1531 A.D.)

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone slab kept in the Mahādeva shrine to the right of the Viṣṇupāda temple in the compound of the latter. The inscribed surface measures about 20 inches in height and 12 inches in width. There are altogether 21 lines of writing. An image of the goddess Durgā is cut in relief in the central part of the lower half of the inscribed face of the stone. Lines 1-11 of the record are engraved above the figure of the goddess while lines

1. This is a contraction of *Maṅgala-vāra*, 'Tuesday'.
2. Read *veyiṁ°*.
3. Better read *vallabha*.
4. This stanza is from the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu*, Canto 2, verse 105.

12 and 18-21 are engraved to its right and lines 13-17 to its left. Line 12 should have properly been incised to the left of the image above lines 13-17.

The inscription is written in Telugu characters of about the 16th century, and the letters very closely resemble those of the record of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's time, discussed above. The letter *ca* is written in two different forms (cf. *stāpan-ācāryya* in line 7 and *Accutta* in line 10), while *ta* resembles the modern Telugu *ka*. *Ba* has been used for *va* in *Vikāri* (line 3). The language is Telugu and the record is written in prose. The wrong spelling of the words *Ireśvara* for *Īśvara* (lines 8-9), *Accutta* for *Acyuta* (line 10), *śyāsanaṁ* for *śāsanaṁ* (line 11), *sesenu* for *cesenu* (lines 20-21), etc., exhibits the poor knowledge of the composer especially when compared with the composition of the record of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's time.

The date of the inscription is interesting. It is quoted in lines 1-4 as Śālivāhana-Śaka 1588, Vikārin, Mārggaśira-ba 30, Friday. But the year 1588 really belongs to the Vikrama-saṁvat and not to the Śaka era. This is clearly suggested by several indications. In the first place, Śaka 1588 was far removed from the cyclic year Vikārin of both the North Indian and the South Indian calendars and the details of the date are irregular for the said Śaka year. Secondly, the cyclic year Vikārin of the northern calendar corresponded to Vikrama-saṁvat 1588 while the Vikrama and northern cyclic years are sometimes found side by side in the records discovered at Gayā.[1] Thirdly, the details of the date are regular only in the case of the year Vikrama-saṁvat 1588 corresponding to Vikārin of the North Indian calendar and this date tallies with the internal evidence of the record stated to have been set up during the reign of king Acyutarāya of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara, who was the step-brother and successor of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya and ruled in the period 1529-46 A.D. On the other hand, Śaka 1588 (1666 A.D.) would fall more than a century after the period of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagara. The details of the date, viz. Vikrama-saṁvat 1588, Vikārin, Mārggaśira-ba 30, Friday, correspond to the 8th December, 1531 A.D.

The date of the inscription is followed by a passage in lines 5-11 stating that the *dharma-śāsana* belonged to king śrī-vīra-Acyutarāya-

1. See, e.g., Bhandarkar's List, No. 370 which comes from Gayā and is dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1232 and Vikārin.

mahārāya, the son of Narasiṁha, grandson of Īśvara and great-grandson of Timmaya. The expression *dharma-śāsana* means 'a document relating to religious merit' and undoubtedly refers to the inscription under study. It is quite appropriately employed in the present context since the record was apparently set up by a person who made a pilgrimage to Gayā on the king's behalf. King Acyutarāya is endowed in the inscription with the epithets *Rājādhirāja*, *Rājaparameśvara* and *Vīrapratāpa* as well as *Hindu-rājya-sthāpan-ācārya* (i.e. one who taught how to establish the sovereignty of the Hindus) and *Yadu-kula-tilaka* (i.e. an ornament of the Yādava family). Lines 12ff state that a certain Timmaṇanna made the occupants of the Vijayanagara throne *Gayā-mukta*. The passage *Vijayanagaraṁ(ra)-siṁhāsana-karta[la]* in lines 11-17 apparently refers to the departed ancestors of king Acyutarāya mentioned in the record. The expression *Gayā-mukta* (literally, 'emancipated at Gayā') no doubt means that Timmaṇanna performed the *śrāddha* of Acyutarāya's ancestors on the king's behalf at Gayā and thereby led their spirits to emancipation. It is the same as *Gayā-uddhṛta* of the Prapitāmaheśvara temple inscription edited above.

The inscription gives the genealogy of king Acyutarāya from his great-grandfather Timmaya who is the earliest historical figure in the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagara and is mentioned only in a few copper-plate grants[1] of his descendants and in literary works like the *Manucaritramu*[2] and *Āmuktamālyada*.[3] He has been identified with the chief named Tirumalaideva mentioned in two inscriptions from Thanjavur[4] and Śrīraṅgam.[5] His mention in a stone inscription of Acyutarāya is striking and seems to be explained by the fact that he was one of Acyutarāya's ancestors whose *śrāddha* was performed by Timmaṇanna at Gayā. Timmaṇanna was apparently sent to Gayā by Acyutarāya in order to perform the pilgrimage on his behalf and at his cost as well as to perform the *śrāddha* ceremony of his departed ancestors. It is impossible to believe that king Acyutarāya himself visited Gayā or had anything to do with South Bihar.

The well-known city of Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Karnataka) is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription besides Gayā.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 363, etc.
2. *Manucaritramu*, I. 23-24.
3. *Āmuktamālyada*, I. 24-25.
4. *SII*, Vol. II, p. 117, No. 23.
5. *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1892, No. 59.

TEXT[1]

1 [Svasti /*] Śrī-vijay-ābdu(bhyu)da-
2 [ya-Śā*]livāhana-Śata[2]-varuṣaṁ-
3 [bulu*] 1588 Bi(Vi)kāri-nāma-saṁ-
4 [va*]tsara Mārggaśira-ba 30 Śu[3]
5 [Śrī*]man-mahā/[4]rājādhirāja /[rā*]-
6 [ja]-parameśvara/śrī-vīrapratāpa/Hiṁ-
7 [du]-rājya-stā(sthā)pan-ācāryya/Ya-
8 [du]-kulu-tilaka/Tiṁ(Ti)mmaya I-
9 reśvara[5]/Narasiṁhya(ha)-/ maṁḍale-
10 [śvara*] śrī-vīra-Accutta[6]rāya-ma-
11 [hārā*]yala/dha[r*]mma-śyā(śā)sanaṁ/Tiṁ-
12 [7]maṇaṁna
13 [8][Vi]jaya-
14 [na]garaṁ(ra)-
15 siṁhā-
16 sana-ka-
17 rta[la]
18 [9]Gayā-
19 mukta-
20 ṁ se(ce)se-
21 nu (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(१) [स्वस्ति।*] श्री-विजयाब्दु(भ्यु)द(२)[य-शा*]लिवाहन-शत(क)-वरुषं(३)[बुलु*] १५८८ बि(वि)कारि-नाम-सं(४)[व*]त्सर मार्ग्गशिर-ब ३० शु (५) [श्री*] मन्महा । राजाधिराज । [रा*](६)-जपरमेश्वर । श्री-वीर-प्रताप । हिं(७)[दु]राज्य-स्ता(स्था)पनाचार्य्य । य(८)[दु]-कुल-तिलक । तिं(ति)म्मय इ(९)रेश्वर । नरसिंह्य(ह) । मंडले(१०)[श्वर*] श्रीवीर-अच्चुत्तराय-म(११)[हारा*]यल । धम्म(र्म्म)श्या(शा)सनं । तिं(१२)मणंन (१३) [वि]जय(१४)[न]गरं(र)(१५)सिंहा(१६)सन-क(१७)-र्त्त[ल] (१८) गया-(१९)मुक्तं (२०)से(चे)से(२१)नु (।*)

1. From impressions.
2. The word intended is apparently *Śaka*; but read *Vikrama-saṁvatsaraṁ* for *Śālivāhana-Śaka-varuṣam*.
3. This is a contraction of *Śukra-vāra*, 'Friday'. Better read *ba 15*.
4. This *daṇḍa* and others in this and the following lines are redundant.
5. Read *Īśvara*.
6. Read *Acyuta*. *Sandhi* has not been observed.
7. This line was incised by the engraver to the right of the image of Durgā above lines 18-21 through oversight.
8. Lines 13-17 are engraved to the left of the image.
9. Lines 18-21 are engraved to the right of the image of Durgā below line 12.

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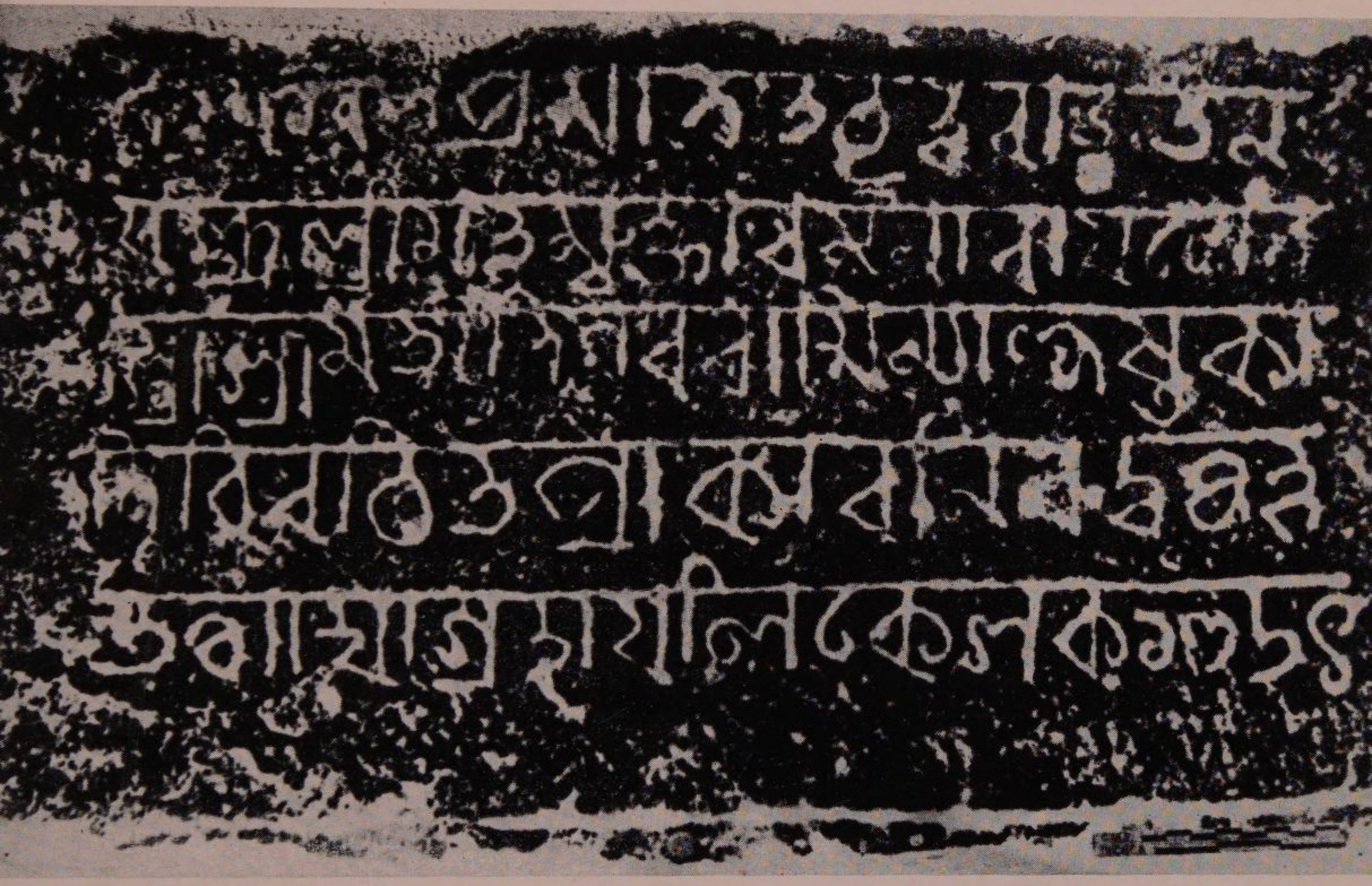
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page	2,	lines 17-18.	*Read*	Āgrahayanika
		note 3.	*Add*	For a ruler named Dharmanārāyaṇa, see *ABORI*, Vols. LVIII-LIX, 1977 and 1978, pp. 813ff.
,,	4,	line 4.	*Read*	Reference is made
		line 15.	Read	*pragīyate*
,,	8,	line 27.	Read	*muṇḍā*
,,	12,	line 8.	*Read*	Ḍikā
		line 9.	*Read*	Ḍaluvā-grāma (Ḍaluā-grāma)
		lines 21-22.	*Read*	Ḍaluā (i.e. Ḍaluākoñcī)
		line 23.	*Read*	Patra's son Dapo
,,	13,	line 5.	*Read*	Ḍaluā-grāma
		line 31.	*Read*	Ḍaluākoñcī
,,	14,	line 16.	*Read*	Ḍaluā-grāma
,,	15,	line 30.	*Read*	Ḍaluā-grāma, Ḍaluā-koñcī
,,	16,	line 10.	*Read*	Ḍaluā-grāma
		line 14.	*Read*	pattrī-pramā[9]
		note 9.	*Add*	See line 10; cf. lines 13, 36, 47-48 and 48.
,,	17,	note 1.	*Add*	See lines 13, 36, 47-48 and 48.
		note 7.	*Read*	Ḍaluā
,,	21,	line 23.	Read	*grāma-pū*[*rvva*]
		line 26.	*Read*	*muṇḍa-vā-ṭī*
		last line.	Read	*Gavitak-ādīnāṁ*
,,	22,	line 4.	Read	*dakṣiṇ-āṁśe*
,,	28,	line 3.	Read	*viśadīkṛteṣu*
		line 23.	Read	*mauktika*
		line 25.	Read	*rāśiḥ* /
		line 26.	*Transfer the last syllable to the following foot of the stanza.*	
,,	29,	line 12.	Read	*prahitaḥ*
		line 15.	Read	*Jinaṁ*
,,	41,	note 1.	*Add*	For such names, called apotropaic, see M.B. Emeneau in *JAOS*, Vol. 98, No. 2, April-June, 1978, p. 127.

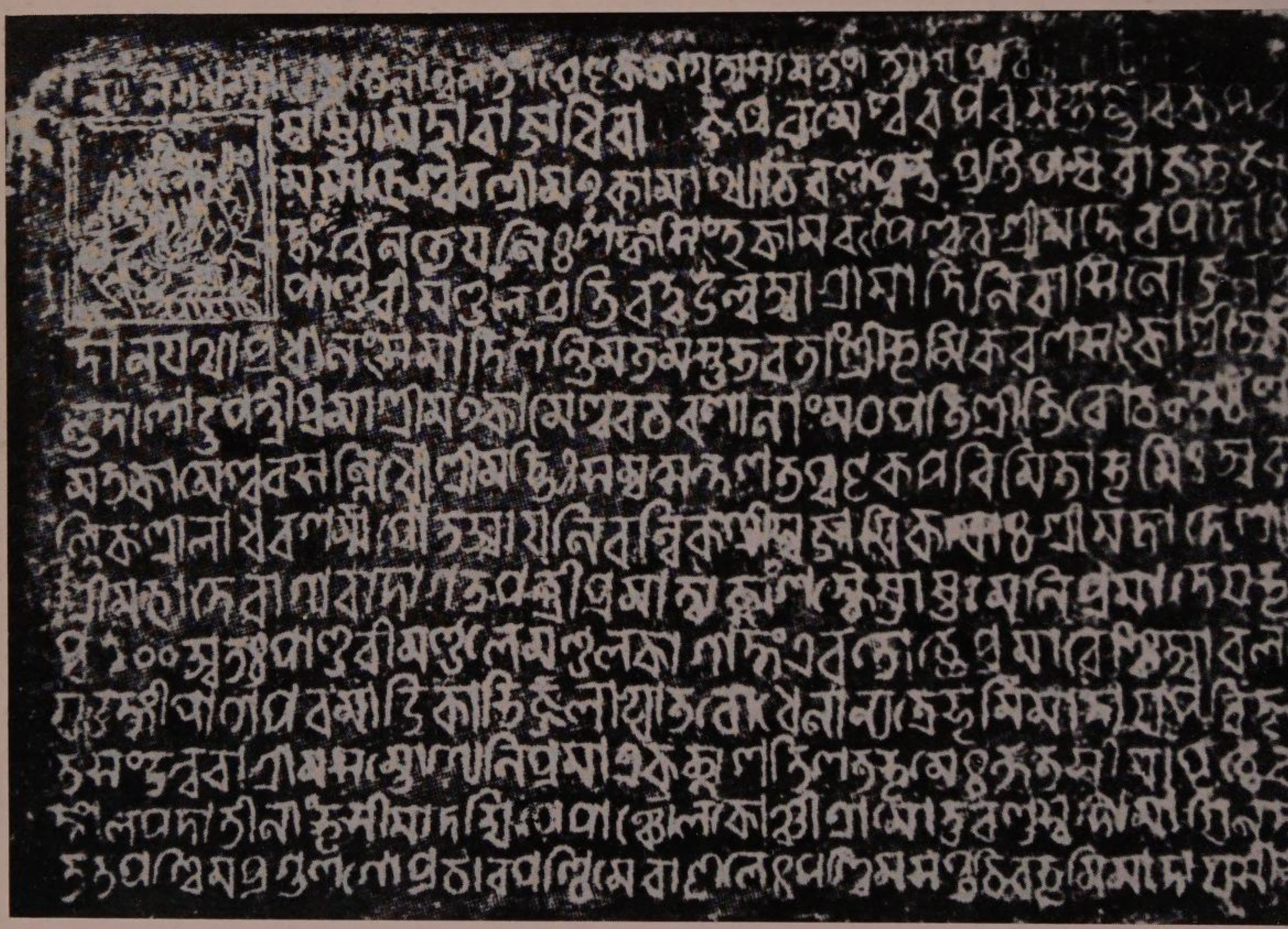
Page	43,	line 6.	Read *ghaṭanā(ṭitā)*
,,	44,	line 26.	*Read* construction
,,	48,	line 32.	*Read* initial vowels.
,,	49,	line 1.	*Read* seventeenth century
		note 1, line 2.	*Read* modern form
,,	52,	line 12.	Read *Pauṣe māsi*
,,	53,	line 7.	Read *kṛtā*
,,	69,	line 32.	*Read* 1199-1261 A.D.
,,	71,	line 12.	*Transfer the letter* a *from the beginning of the line to the end of the previous line.*
		note 7.	Read *pujāyai*
,,	74,	line 5.	Read *caṁḍ-āṁśavaḥ // 1*
,,	75,	note 4.	*Add* In Bhāvasadāśiva's description, *Gaurī-guru* means Śiva (not Himālaya) as *Caṇḍī-guru* does in the Bangarh inscription, verse 28 (*JAIH*, Vol. VII, p. 144).
,,	76,	last line.	Read *Gajapti* or *Gajapta*
,,	77,	line 36.	*Omit hyphen at the end of the line.*
,,	82,	line 9.	Read *gāara bhumī*
		line 16.	Read *Meḍūra-thaḷa*
		line 17.	Read *mūḷa*
		line 18.	Read *[bha]-bhī(ta*)re .... pūrṇa*
		line 19.	Read *bhūmī-dāna*
		line 20.	Read *Karnṇyaṭa*
		line 21.	Read *Kapiḷesaradeva* and *Kapiḷesarapura*
		line 22.	Read *jaḷa-bhumī*
		lines 24-25.	Read *bhāke(ga)-[bho]ga*
,,	98,	line 9.	Read *Śvadutalā°*
		line 14.	Read *rakṣyeta (rakṣyā)*
,,	101,	line 21.	Read *pratisrotasā*
,,	103,	line 24.	*Read* in figures
,,	104,	line 34.	Read *Va(Ba)suvāpādā*
,,	106,	line 6.	Read *vra(bra)hmottar*
,,	107,	line 6.	Read *Kātti(rtti)k*
		line 9.	Read *de[śo='yaṁ]*
		line 11.	Read *vra(bra)hmottar*
,,	110,	line 24.	Read *Hari-pada-manā*
		line 34.	Read *Viṣṇu-bhakto*
,,	111,	line 13.	Read *tuṣṭy-arthaṁ*
,,	112,	line 17.	Read *guṇa-cayena*
		last line.	Read *°bhūj=jaga°*
,,	114,	line 12.	Read *pūrvvasyām=a°*
		line 25.	Read *Vre(Vra)javāsi*
Page	121,	line 34.	Read *Rūpadāsa*
,,	122,	note 1, last line.	*Read* above, pp. 94-95.
,,	124,	line 16.	Read *śrī-śrī-Kṛṣṇaḥ /*

,,	125, line 8.	Read	*paurṇṇamāsyām*
,,	126, note 3.	*Add*	See also above, pp. 37-38.
,,	128, note 1.	*Add*	The word *tribhuvanī* is derived from *tribhuvana* on the analogy of *trilokī* from *triloka*.
,,	131, line 16.	Read	*śiromaṇiḥ*
,,	134, lines 33-34.	Read	second of the two
Plate III		*Read*	Plate II, Second Side
Plate IV		*Read*	Plate II, First Side

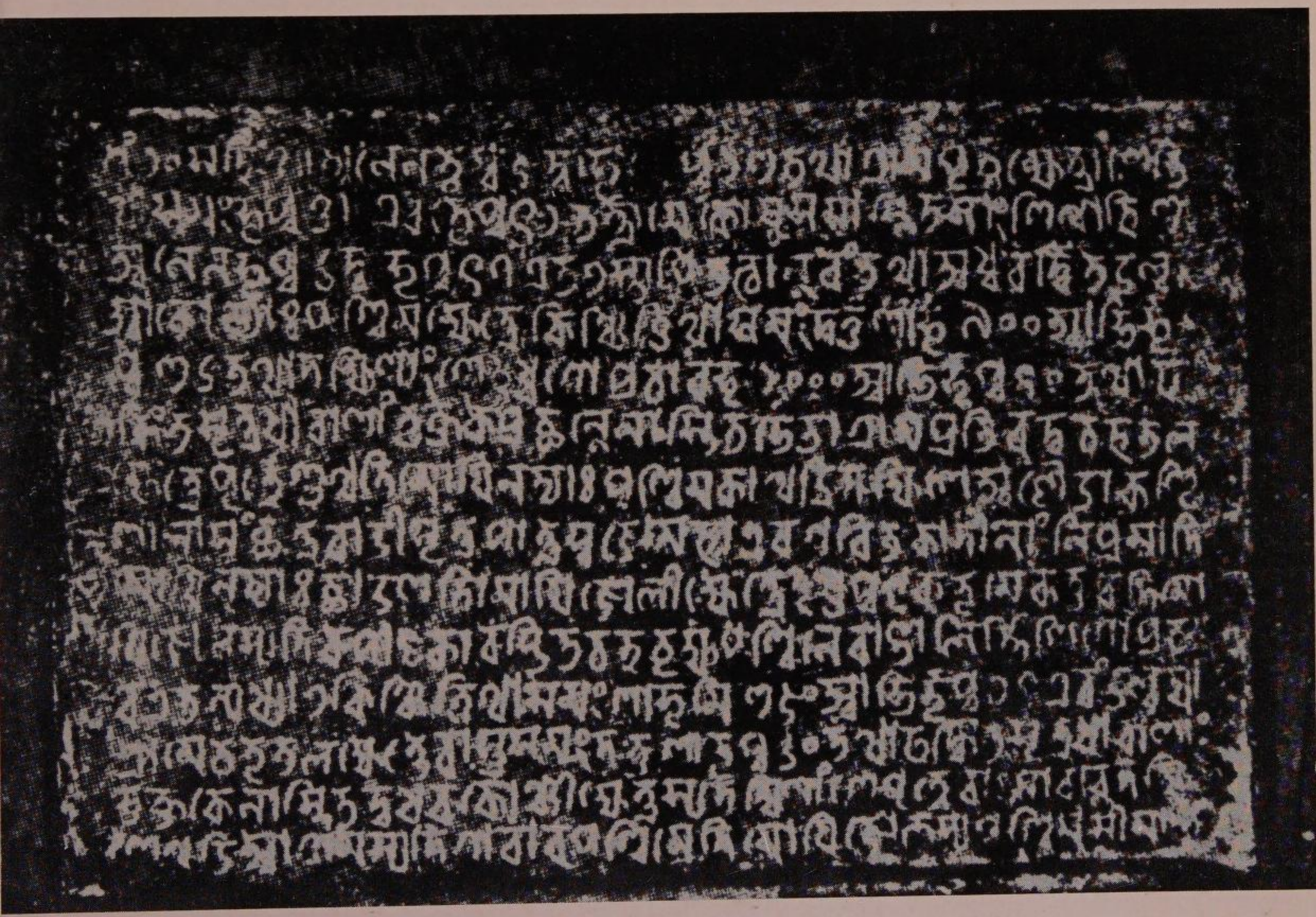


Pāyā Tāmreśvarī (Dikkaravāsinī) Temple Inscription of Muktādharmanārāyaṇa, Śaka 1364 (1442 A.D.)

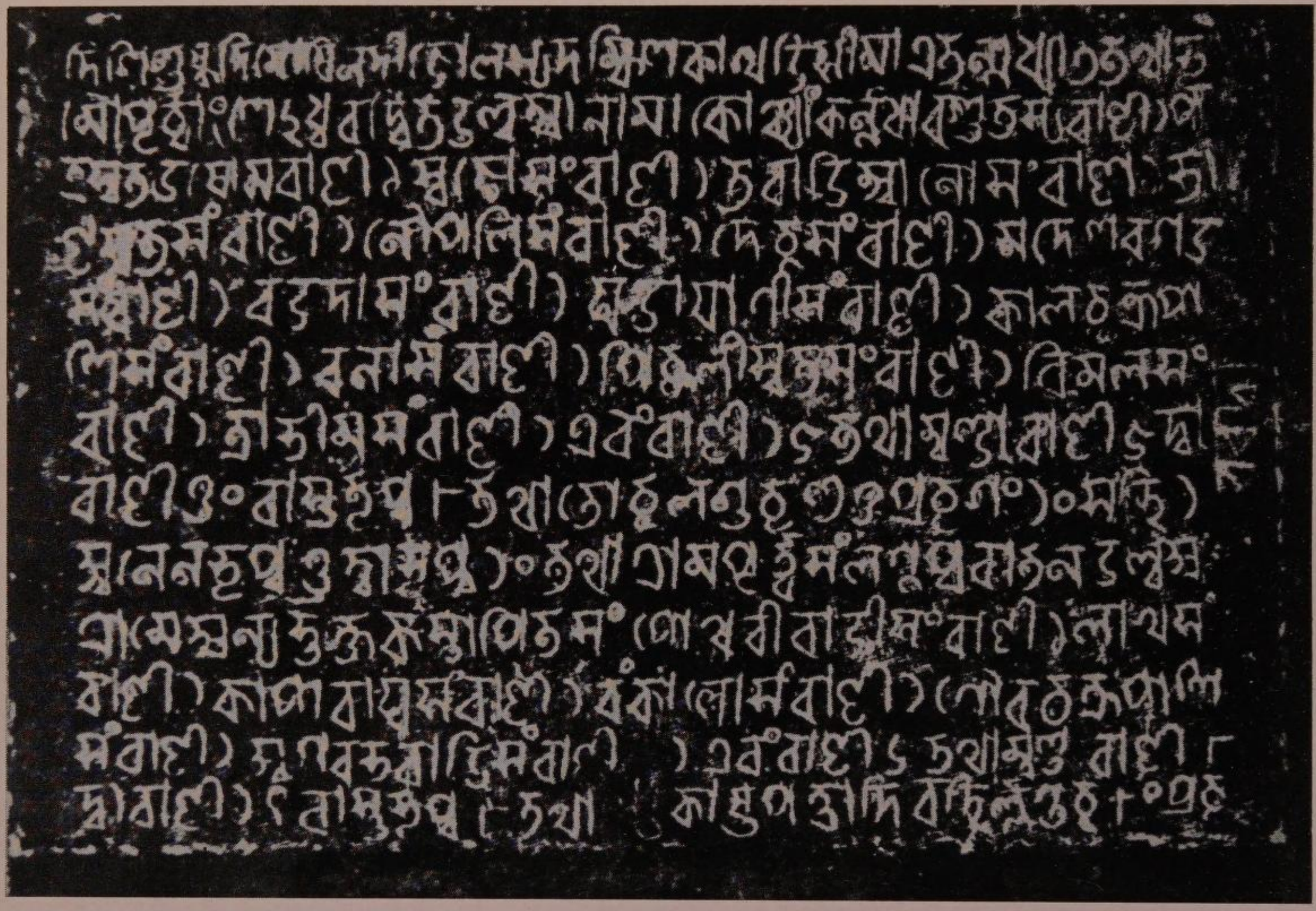
PLATE II



Nilachal Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava. Plate I, Inner Side

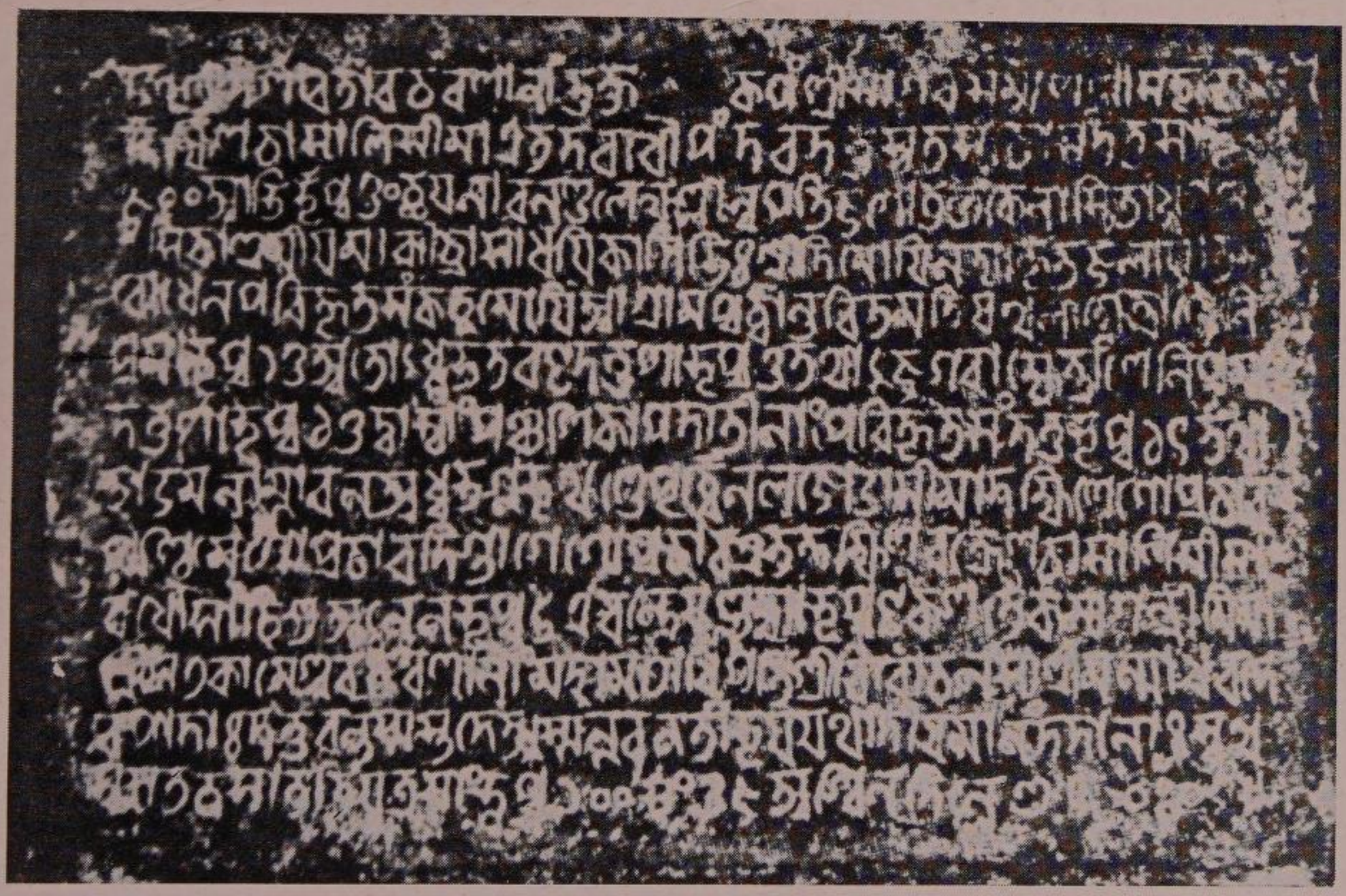


Nilachal Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava. Plate II, First Side



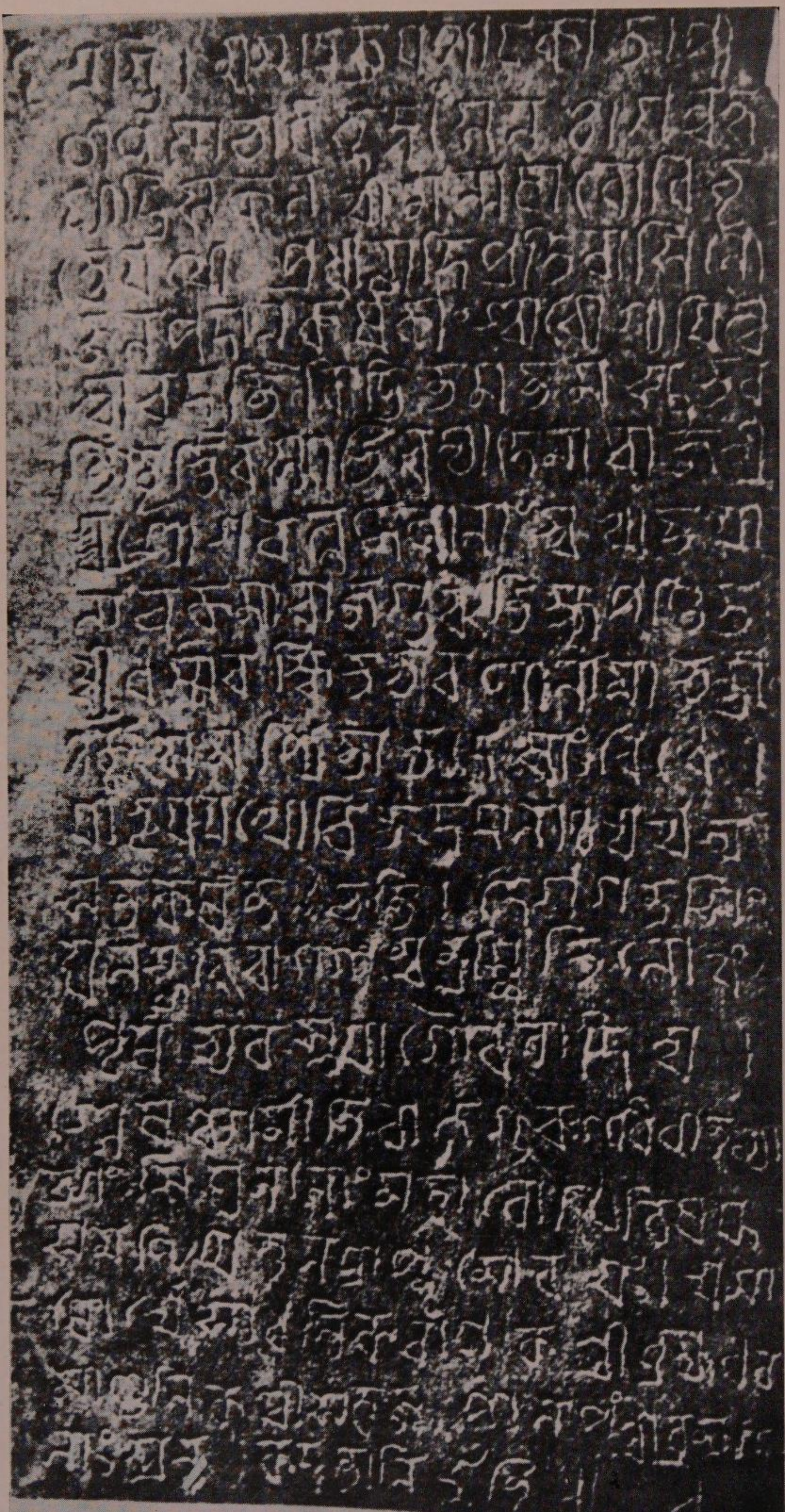
Nilachal Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava. Plate II, Second Side

PLATE V

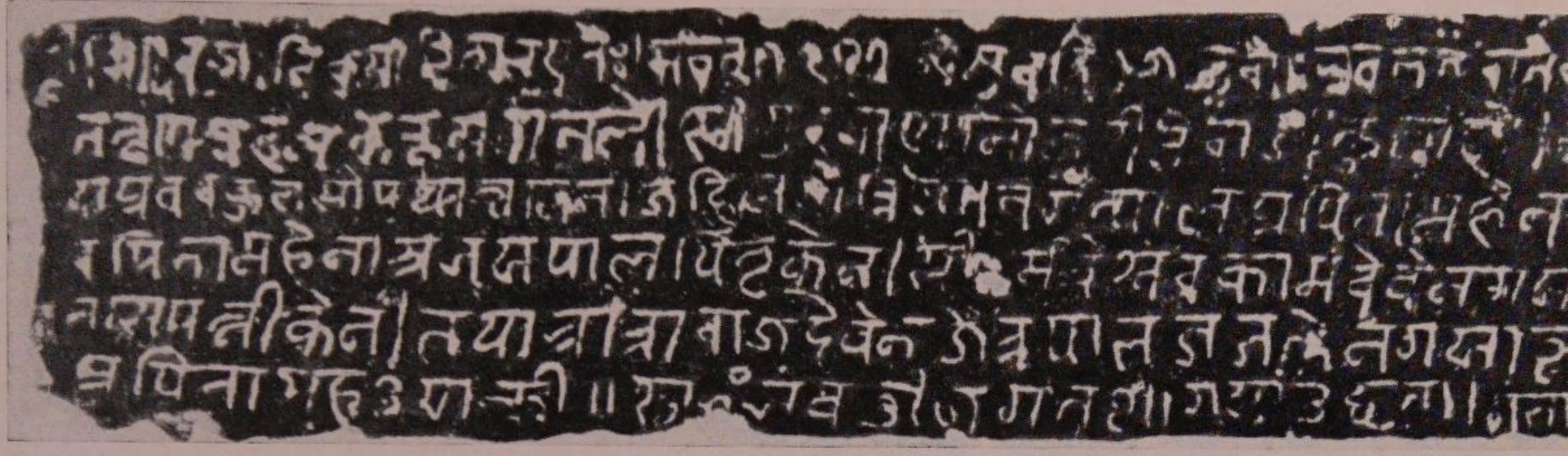


Nilachal Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava. Plate III, Inner Side

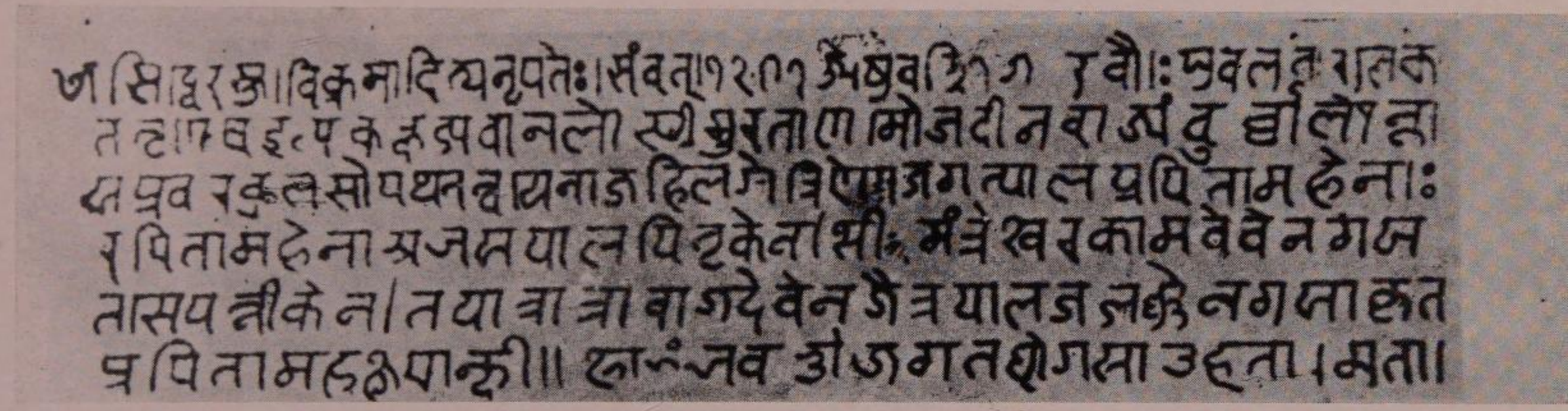
PLATE VI



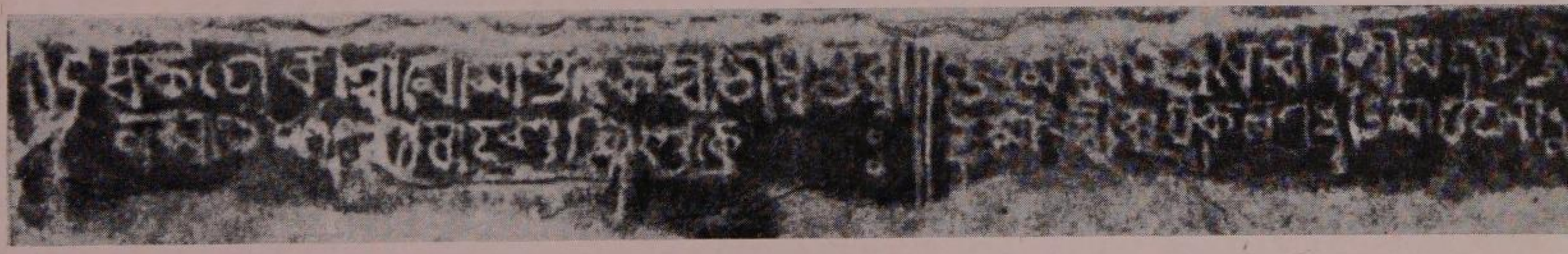
Bodhgayā Stone Slab Inscription of Buddhasena in the Berlin Museum



Gayā Prapitāmaheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Maujadīna (Muizuddīn), Vikrama 1297 (1240 A.D.)

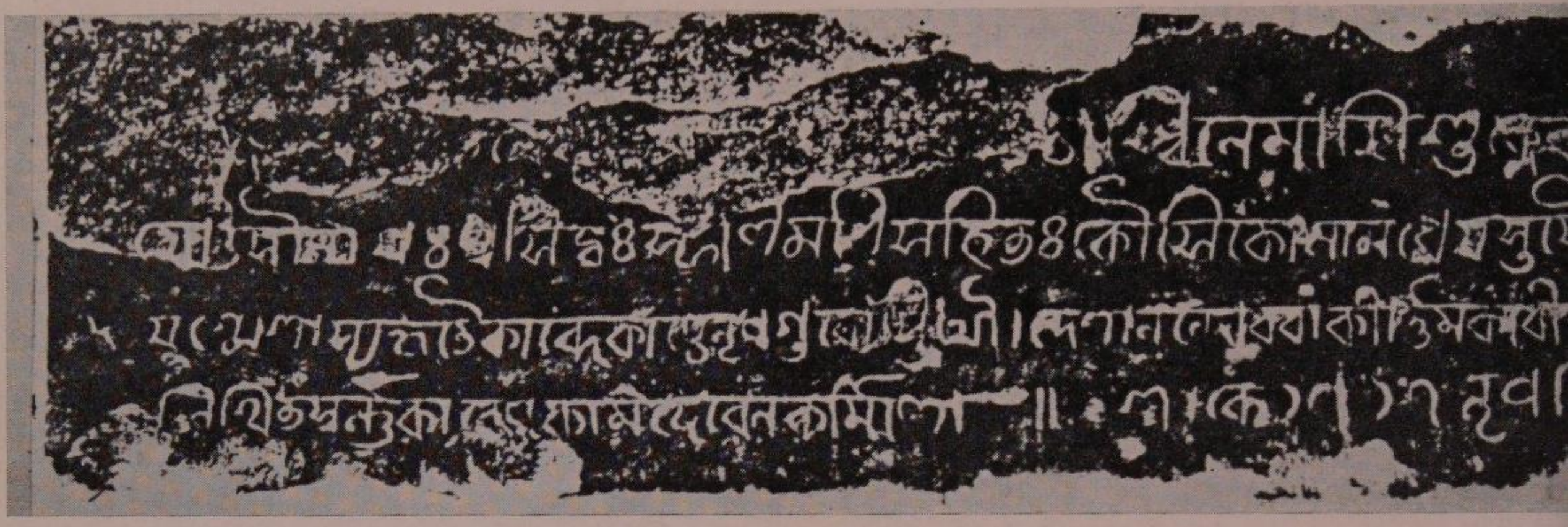


Gayā Prapitāmaheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of Maujadīna (Muizuddīn), Vikrama 1297 (1240 A.D.)
Cunningham's Eye-copy

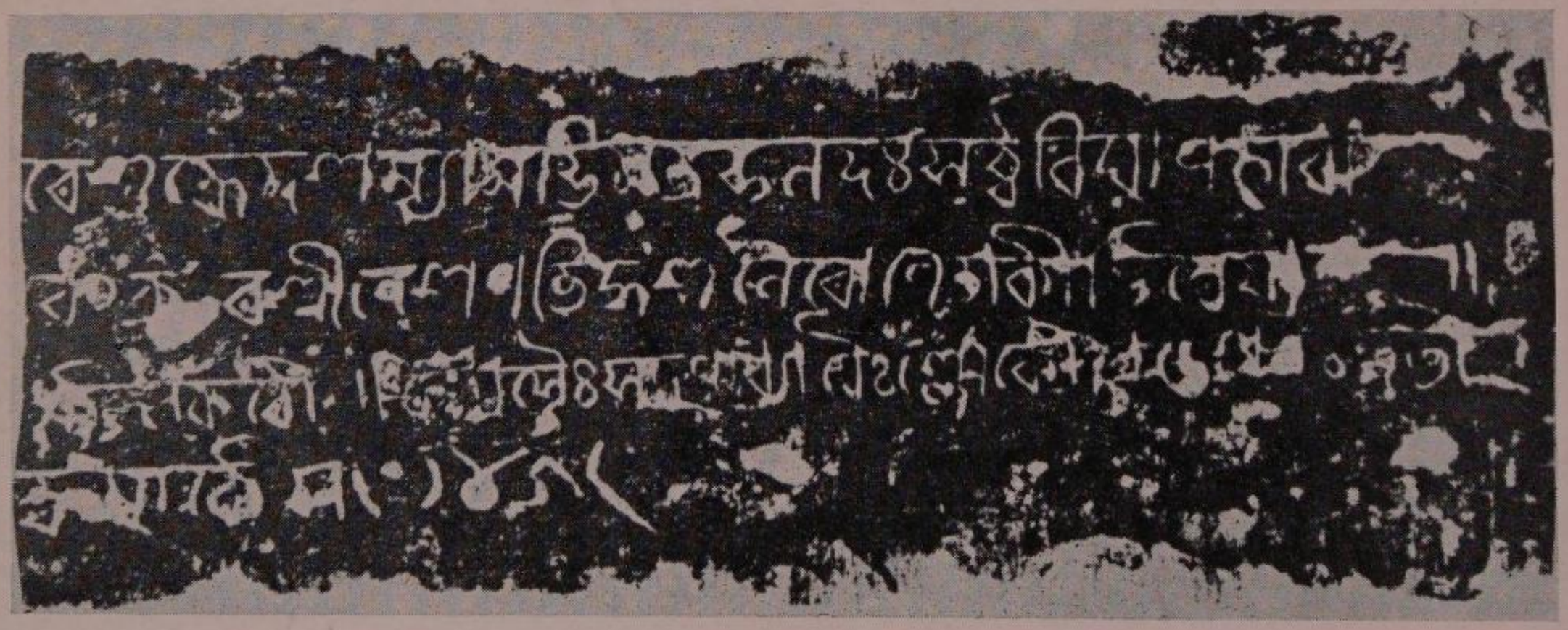


Khojpur Durgā Image Inscription, Lakṣmaṇa-saṁvat 147 (1255 A.D.)

PLATE VIII

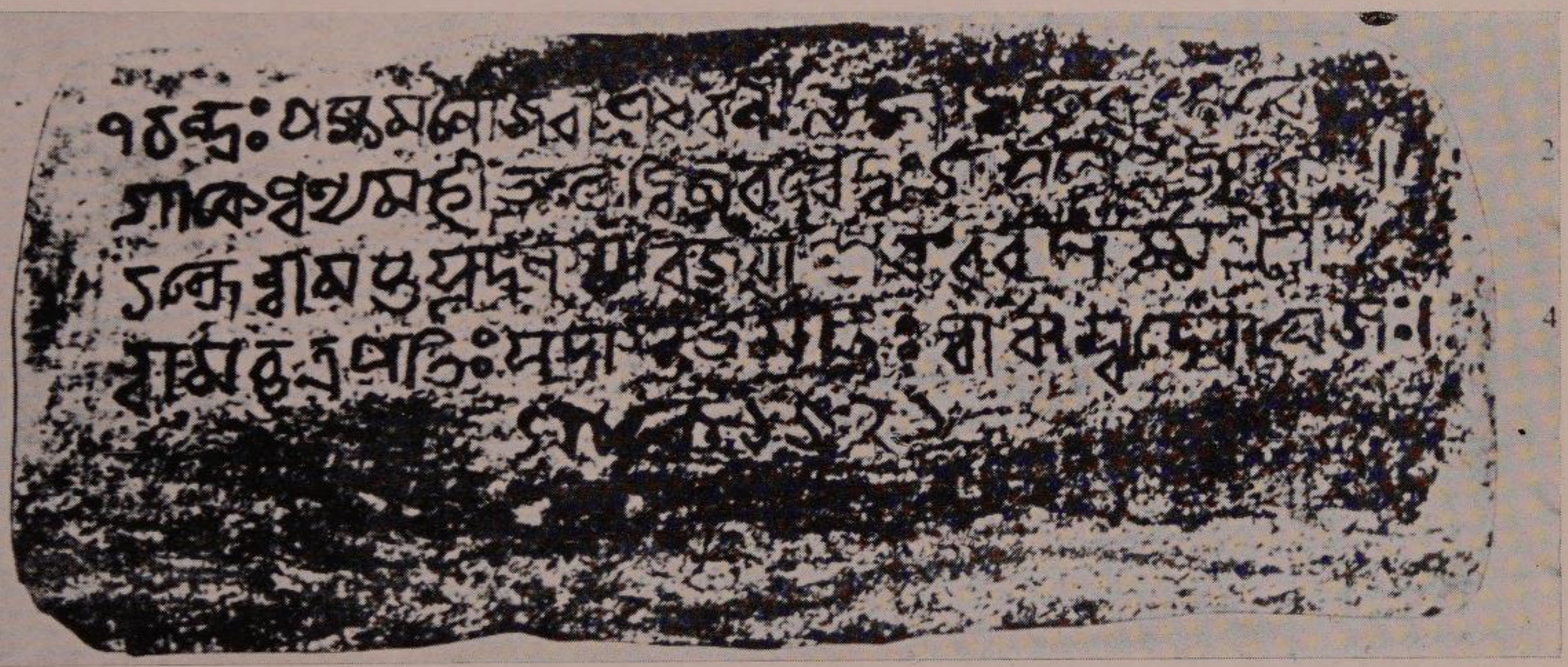


Bihārsharif Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1317 and Vikrama 1452 (1395 A.D.). Left Half

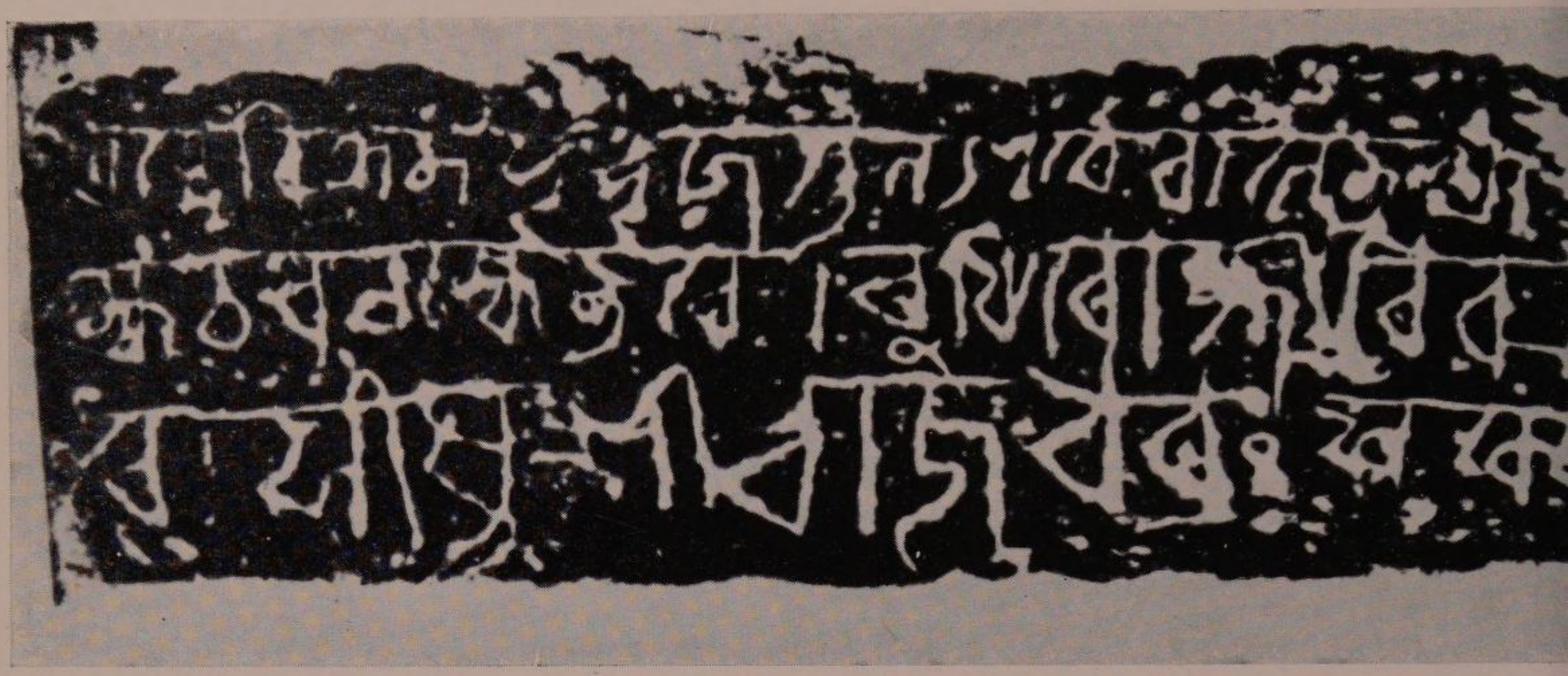


Bihārsharif Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1317 and Vikrama 1452 (1395 A.D.). Right Half

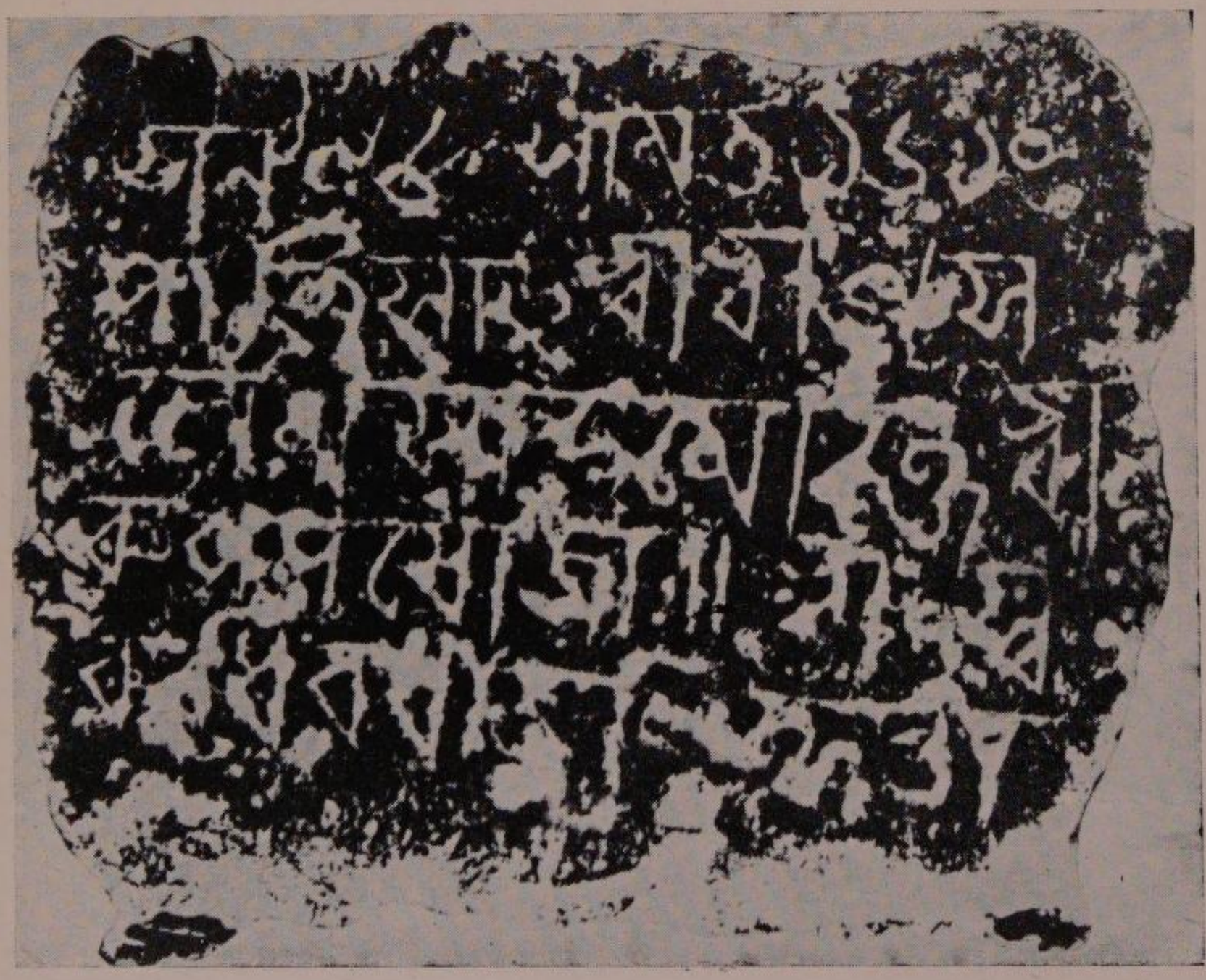
PLATE X



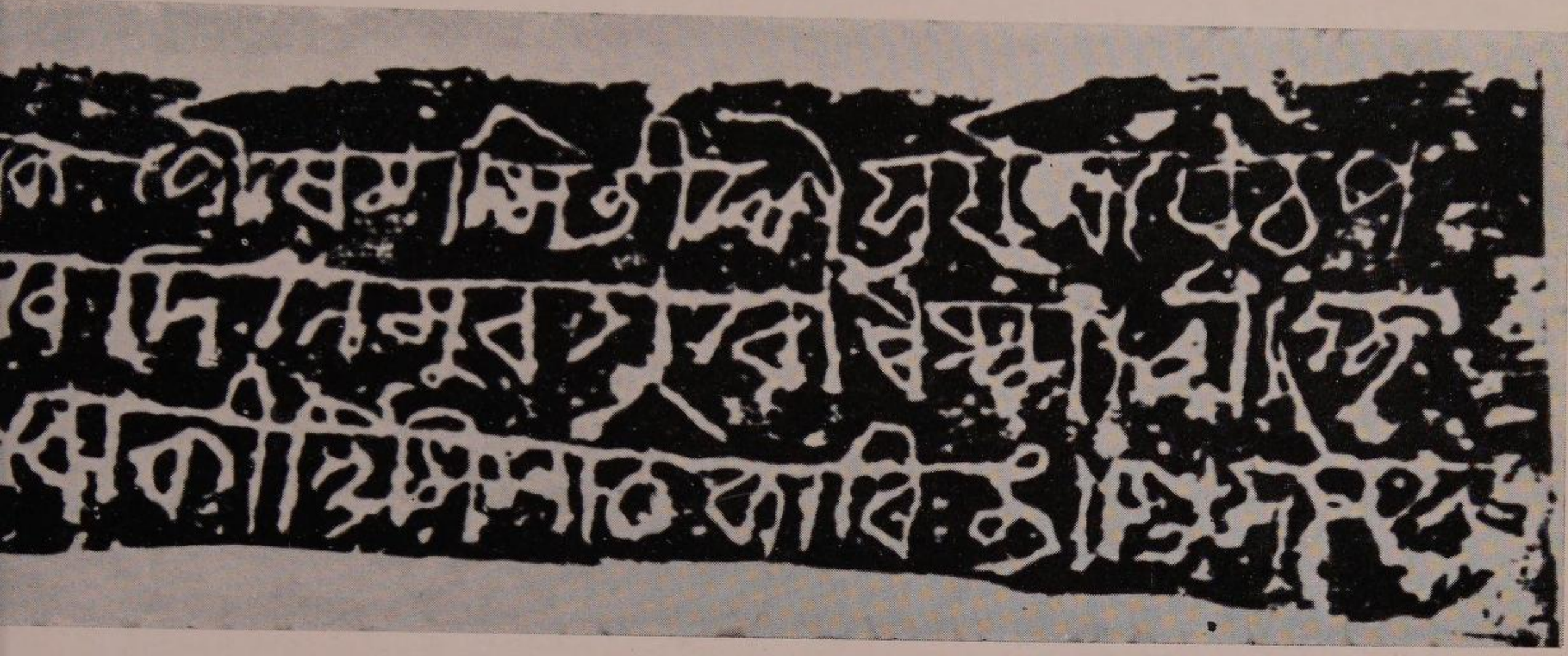
Mandār Hill Inscription of Chatrapati, 1521 Śaka(1599-1600 A.D.)



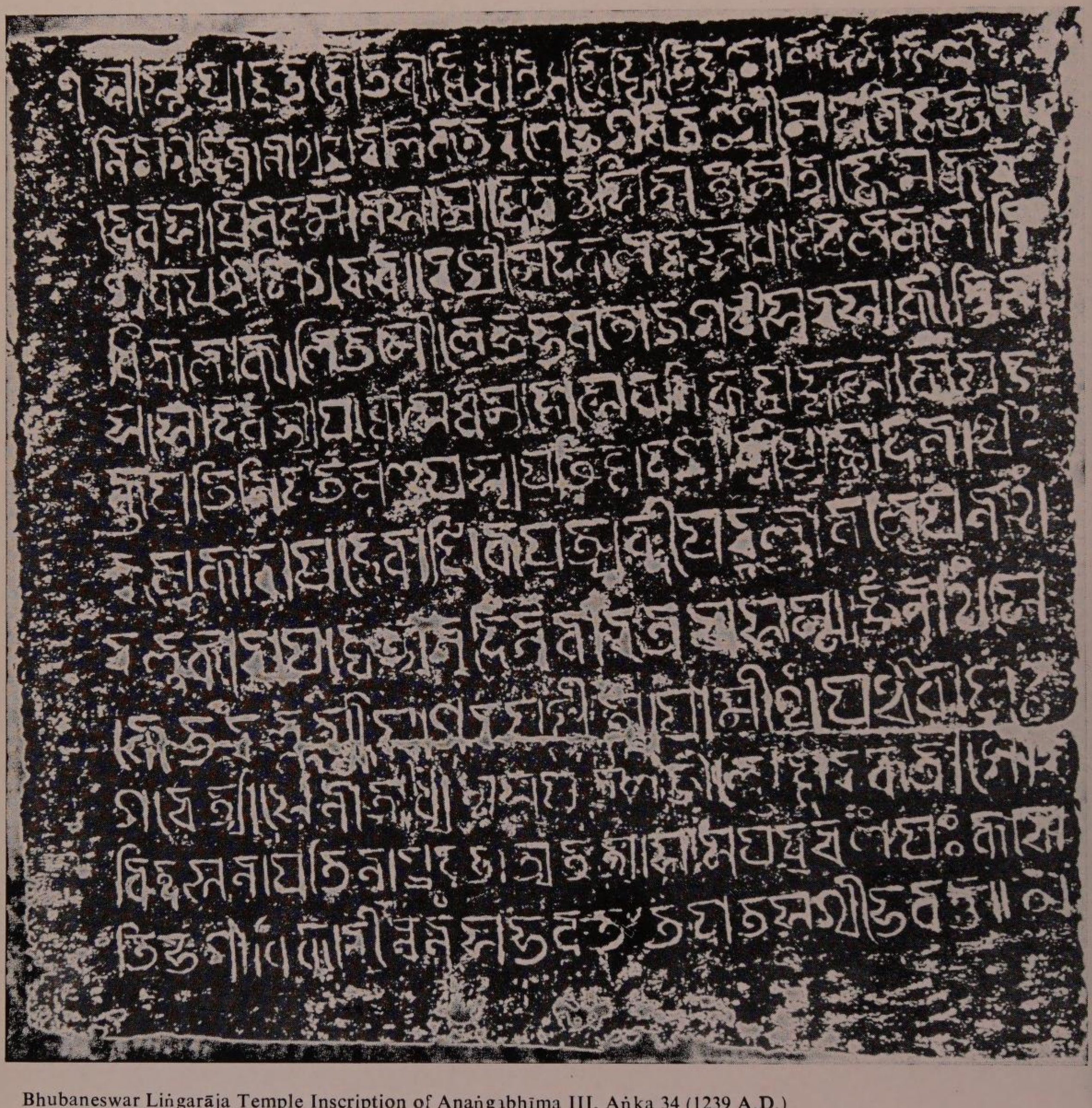
Bihārsharif Stone Slab Inscription of Vikrama 1553 (1496 A.D.)



Ghoṣikuṇḍi Well Inscription of the time of Esalema Sāha (Islām Shāh), San (Hijrī) 960 and Vikrama 1610 (1553 A.D.)

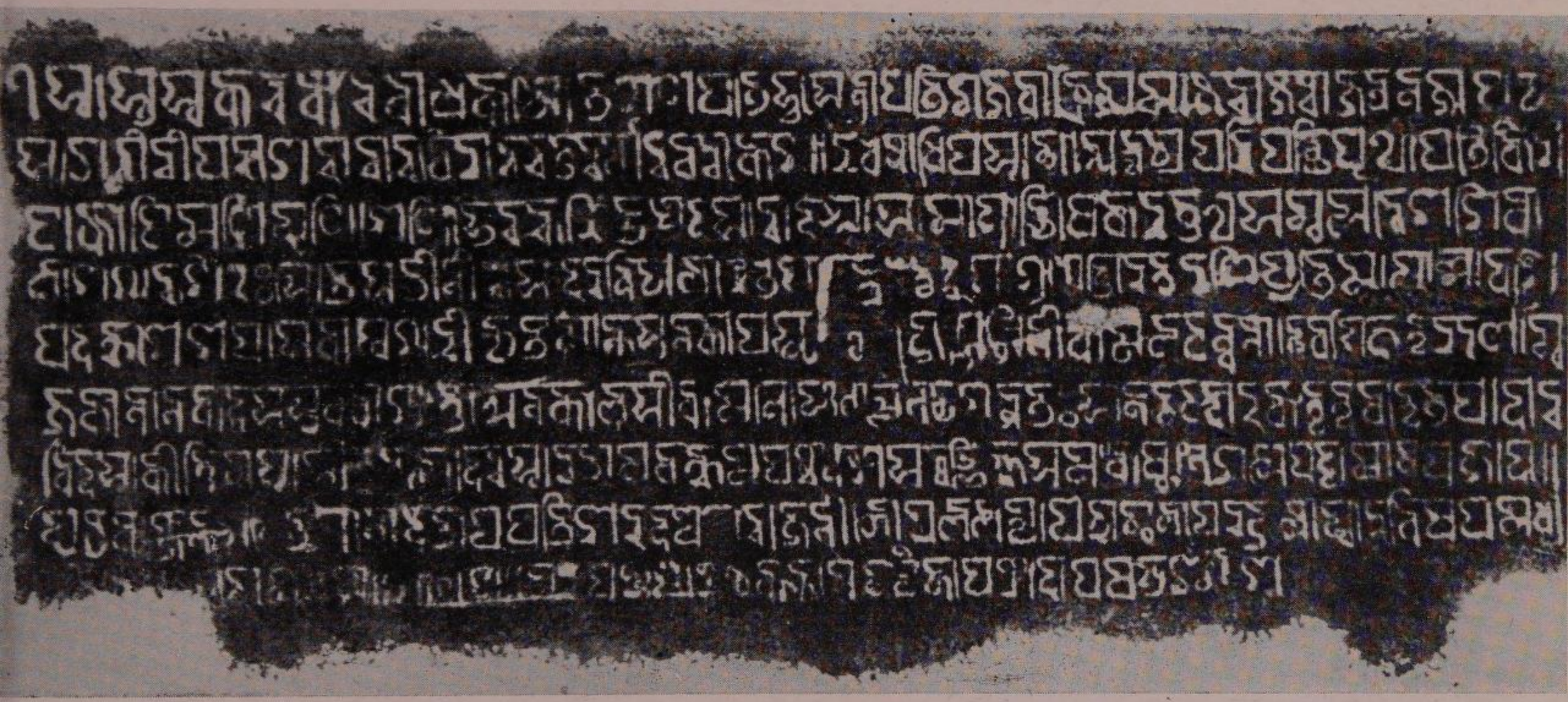


Śrīkuṇḍ Stone Slab Inscription of Śaka 1503 (1581 A.D.)

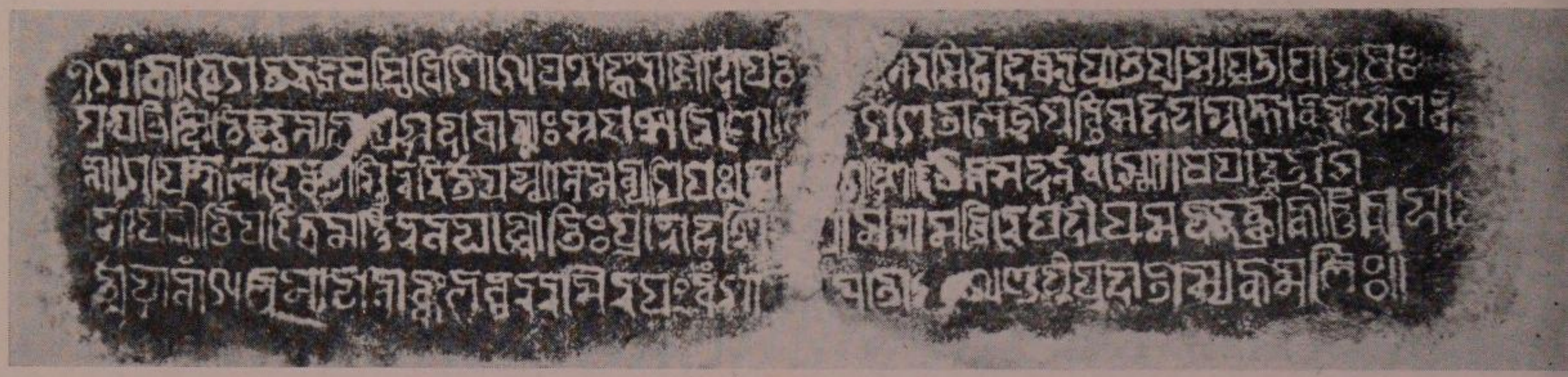


Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III, Aṅka 34 (1239 A.D.)

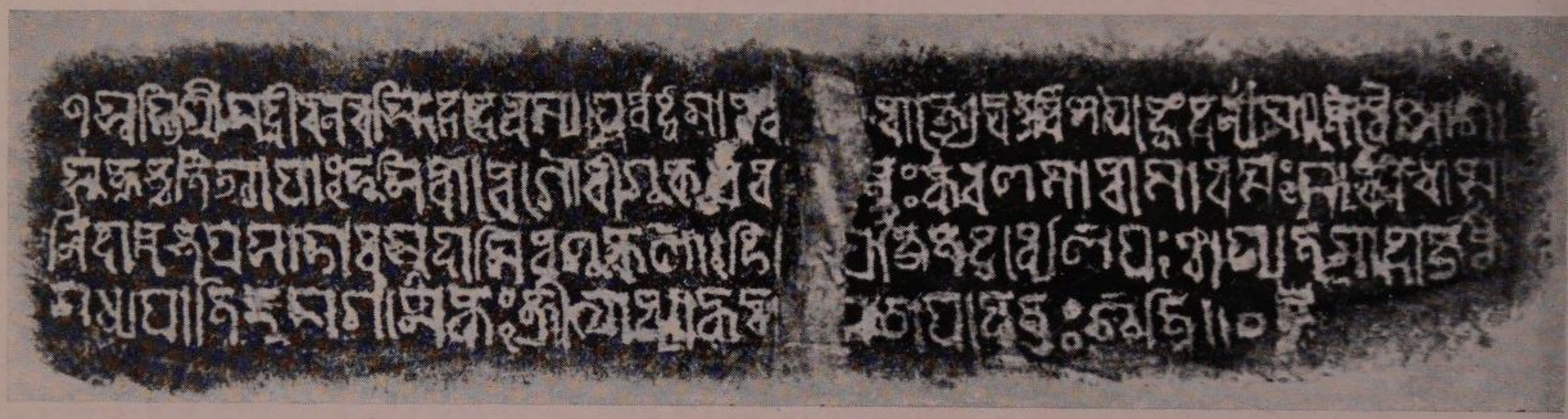
PLATE XII



Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of Vīra-Narakesarin (Narasiṁha I), Year 4 (c. 1241 A.D.)

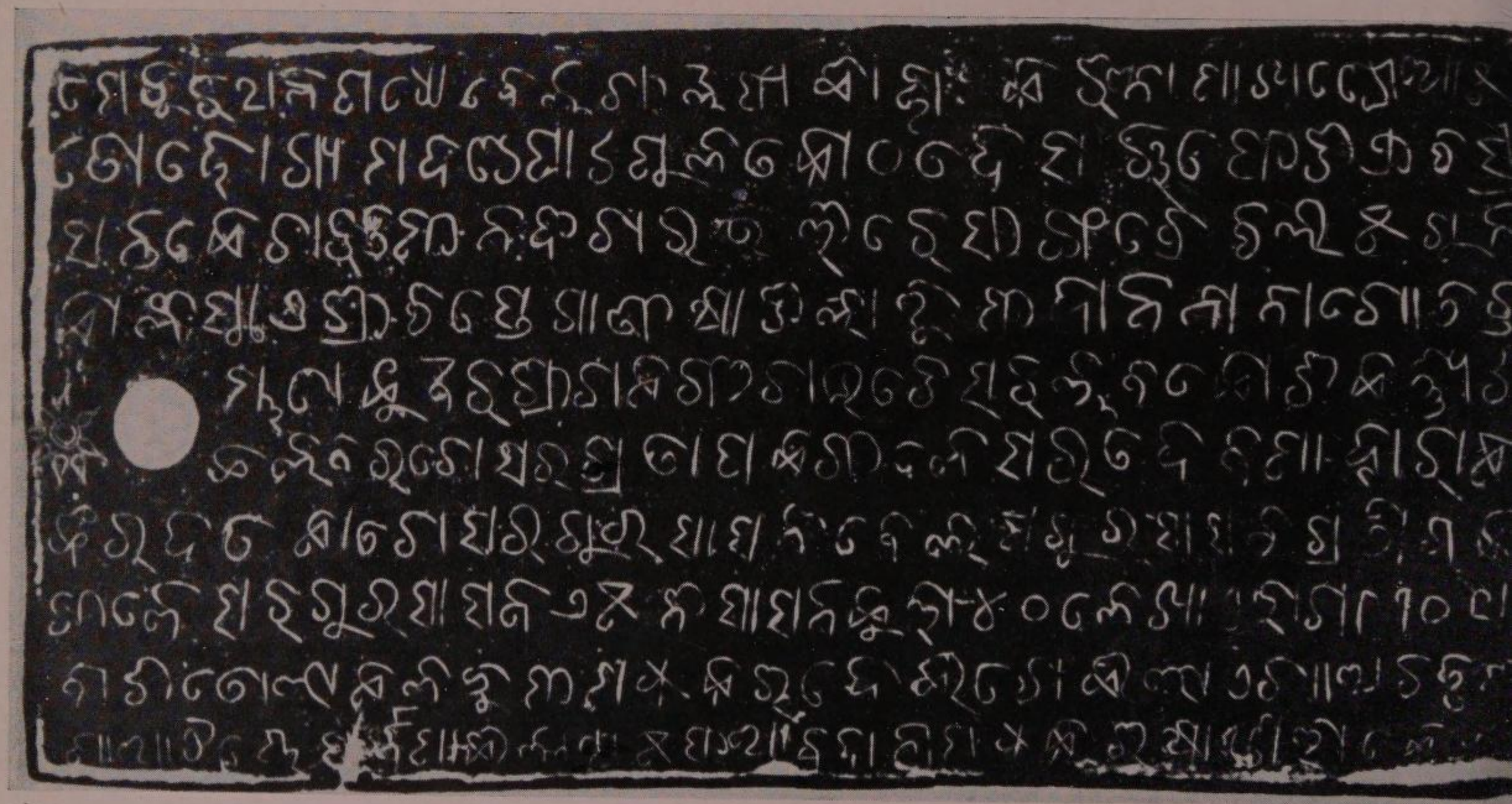


Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of the time of Narasiṁha I, Śaka 1165 and Aṅka 5 (1243 A.D.)



Bhubaneswar Liṅgarāja Temple Inscription of the time of Narasiṁha II, Aṅka 24 (1298 A.D.)

Oriya Part of the Veligalani Grant of Kapileśvara, Śaka 1380 (1458 A.D,)



Copper-plate Inscription of the time
Vijayamāṇikya (I), Śaka 1410 (1488 A.

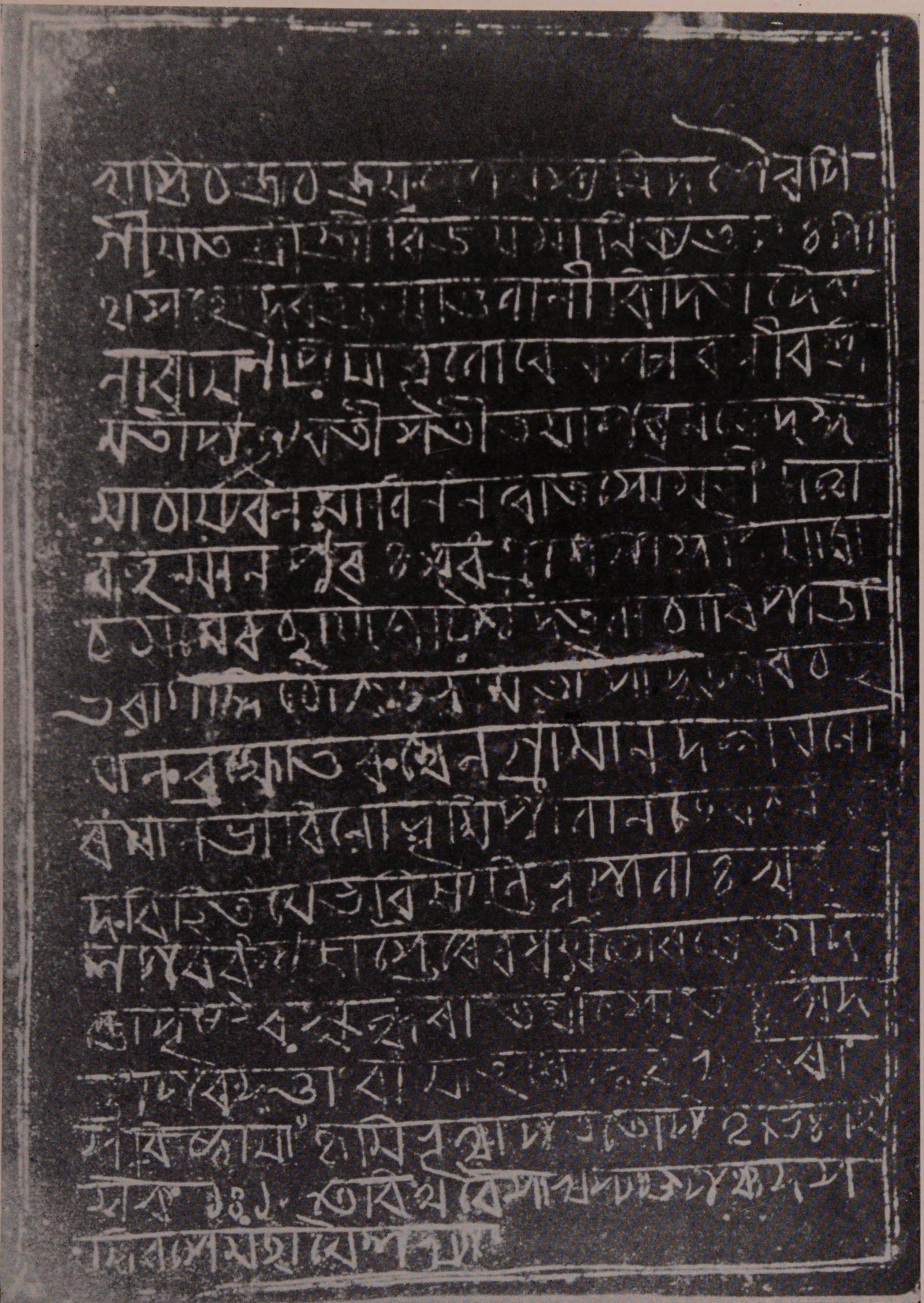
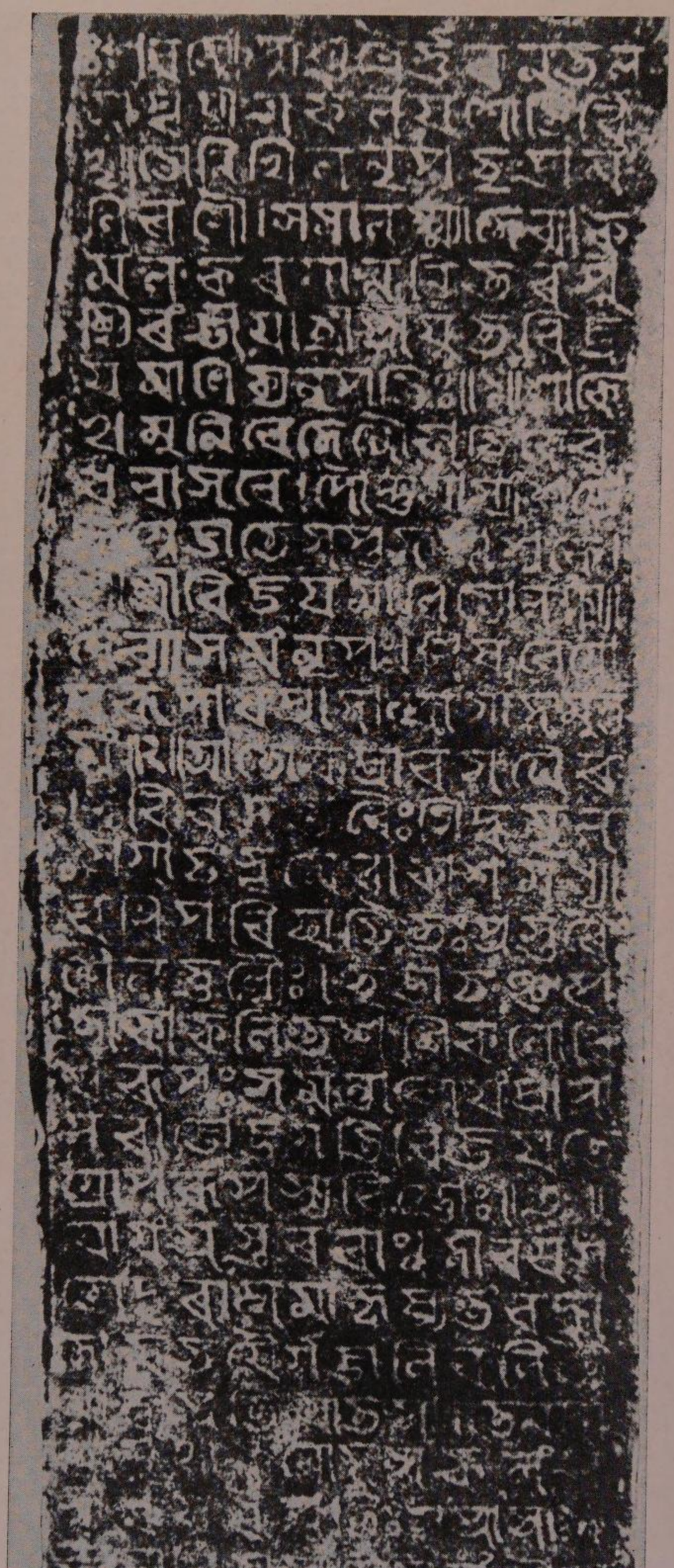
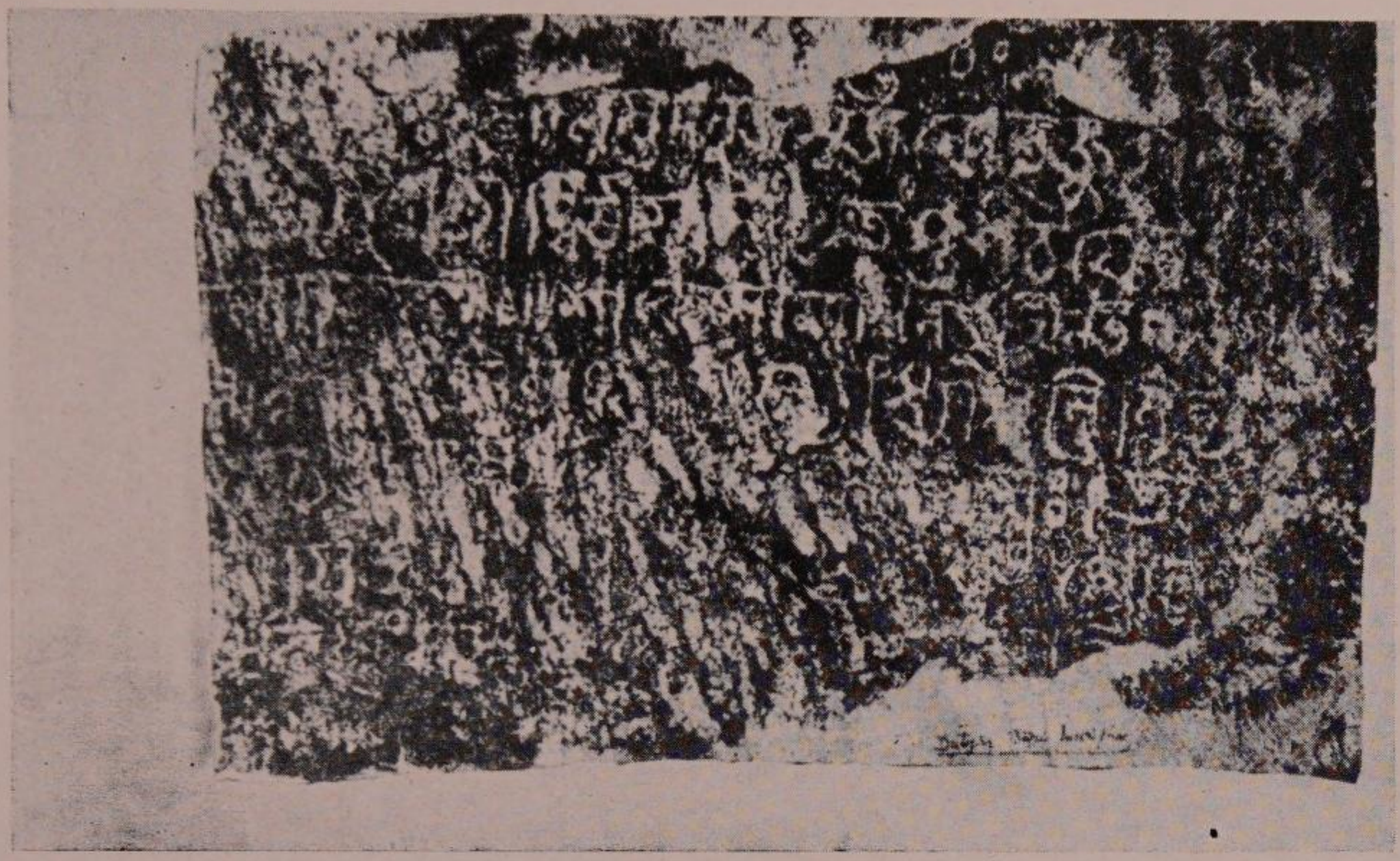


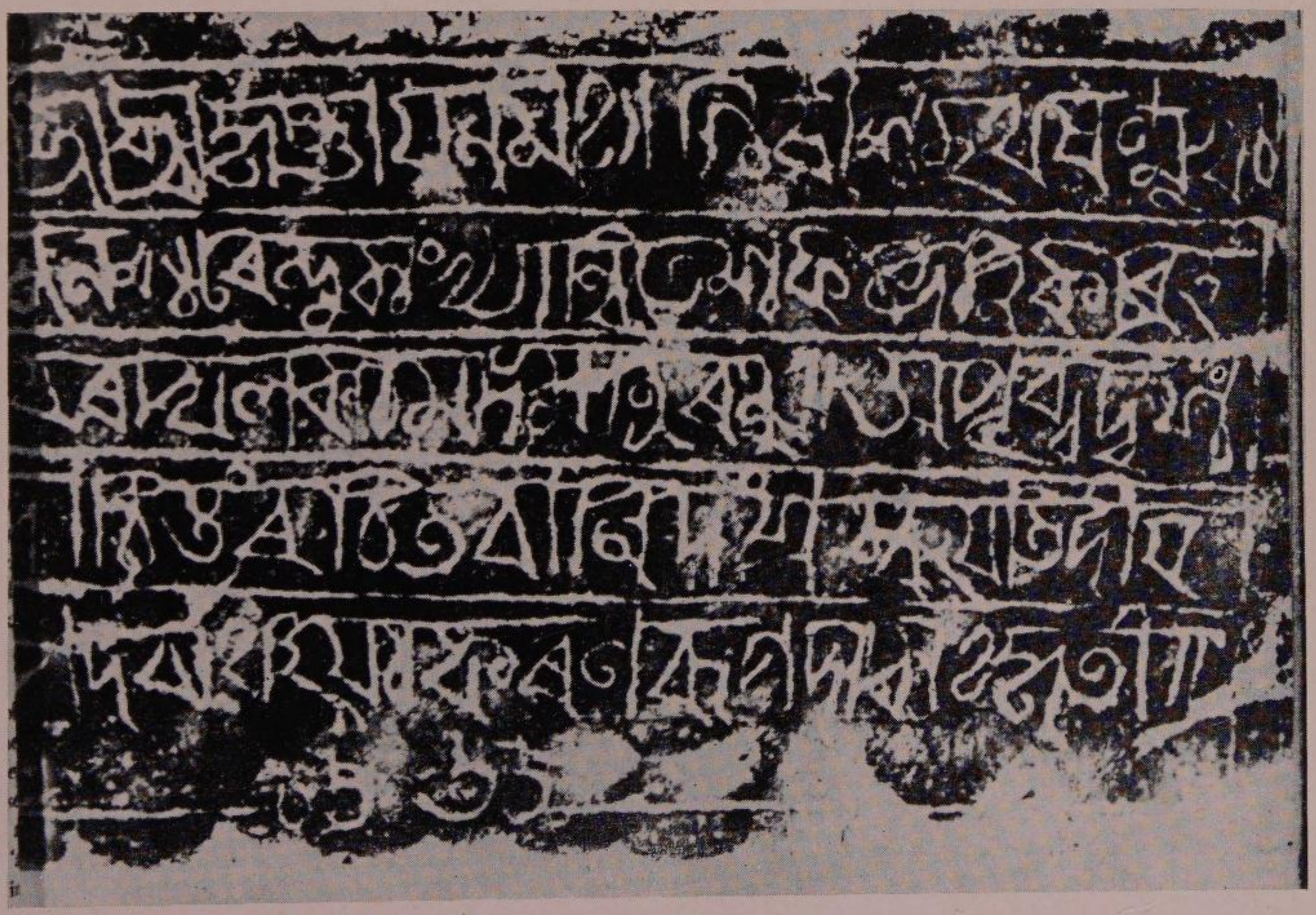
PLATE XV



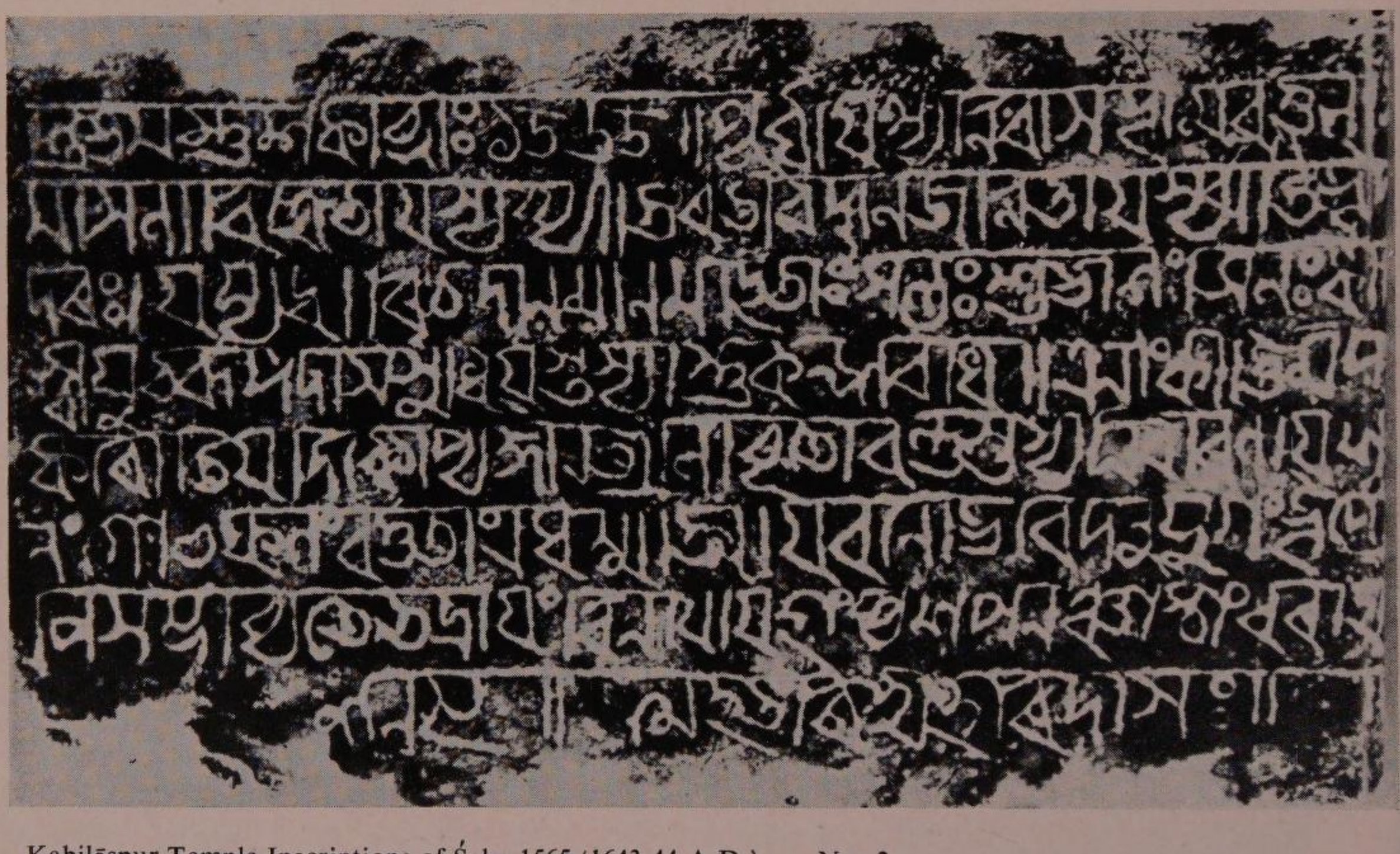
Mahārāṇī Stone Inscriptions of Vijayamāṇikya (II), Śaka 1470 (1548 A.D.). No. A



Dutyār Bāḍi (Udaypur) Inscription of Śaka 1621 (1699 A.D.)



Kabilāspur Temple Inscriptions of Śaka 1565 (1643-44A.D.). No. 1



Kabilāspur Temple Inscriptions of Śaka 1565 (1643-44 A.D.). No. 2

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Temple Inscriptions of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries from the Bankura District

Dr. D.C. Sircar was formerly Government Epigraphist for India, and Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. He was for some time Visiting Professor at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U.S.A. Dr. Sircar was General President of the All-India Oriental Conference in 1972 and also presided over sessions of the Numismatic and Epigraphical Societies of India and sections of the Indian History Congress and other bodies. He is recipient of the Sir William Jones Memorial Medal of the Asiatic Society and Akbar Medal of the Numismatic Society and is Honorary Fellow of several learned associations.

The name of Dr. Sircar is generally regarded as 'a sufficient guarantee' for the merit of his works. It has been said that he has made 'a life-long serious study of inscriptions such as no other living scholar, Indian or European, has made' and that he 'has earned a position of eminence' in the fields including those of epigraphy and numismatics 'by producing quantities of painstaking and objective scholarship'. "Specialists working in this material are obliged to take Prof. Sircar's judgements into account; they ignore him only at their peril." Reference is made to 'his excellence in a type of historical research which may be called the first level of synthesis', i.e. the gathering together of related epigraphs, squeezing out every drop of information they will yield, and collecting the evidence of literature, numismatics and the epigraphs of contemporary kingdoms in assessing their full significance.

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